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A MILESTONE IN HISTORY

IN a message printed elsewhere in this volume Lord Linlithgow explains the vast importance of the present year in the long history of India. On April 1, every part of the Government of India Act of 1935 will become operative with the exception of the chapters dealing with Federation. At Whitehall the Secretary of State for India will become Secretary of State for Burma as well ; his Council of India will close an honourable existence that began in 1858 ; and his new Counsellors will not be constituted as an official body and will lack the overriding powers which their predecessors possessed. At home and in India too the Crown will take over and redistribute the authority now vested in the Secretary of State and the Governor-General both "in Council" and in their individual capacity. In India two new provinces, Sind and Orissa, will begin their official life ; Burma and Aden will be detached from the Indian Empire ; above all the new Provincial Administrations, with their Ministers responsible to the new Councils, will come into action and Provincial autonomy will be a fact. At the Centre the Governor-General will assume his new powers which are described at length in this volume ; and the Federal Court, the Railway Board and the permanent Public Services Commission will soon be established. But even then the scheme of reform will not be complete until Federation has come into being and autonomous Provinces and Indian States cooperate in the Central Government of a vast Federation. It is to be hoped that by this time next year a sufficient number of ruling Princes will have signified their adhesion to the Federation for its official inauguration to be celebrated at Delhi. The anxieties which have delayed their decisions are ably analysed on another page by Mr. L. Rushbrook Williams, who is one of the leading authorities on the subject. He does not minimize the difficulties ; apart from the natural desire of these States to safeguard their political and financial stability, and such rights of sovereignty as are not essential to the working of the Federation, they present no common pattern. Their treaties with the Crown, their economic conditions, the outlook of their

populations differ widely, as do the practical problems of federation as envisaged—to take two instances only—by the Government of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Western Maritime States. But with tact, with the careful drafting of the legal “instruments of accession,” and a sympathetic attitude on the part of the Government of India these obstacles will be surmounted. There will be no undue haste—to try to “rush” hesitant Princes into Federation would neither benefit them nor the present Government of India, and would be positively harmful to its federal successor.

At the same time it is important that the transitional period which British India is now entering should not be extended for a day longer than is necessary. Such periods are always difficult, a system combining “reformed” Provincial Councils with an “unreformed” Central Legislature has obvious drawbacks. It is also conceivable that the Congress Party may attempt to wreck the nascent Reforms by creating deadlocks within and agitation outside the Assemblies and by refusing to take office where it has a majority. Non-cooperation, however, as Lord Zetland remarks in his message to *The Times*, is rejected by the majority of those Indians who “have had actual experience of the art of government and of the realities of administration.” It must not be forgotten that since 1918 the people of India have been subjected to the influences of ideas which instead of following one another, as in Europe, in logical sequence are at work simultaneously. Nationalist demands for still more political freedom are competing with economic proposals of a Socialist and even Communist complexion. Here lies the justification of the policy of broadening the foundations of government by giving the Provinces as large an autonomy as is consistent with Indian unity and by bringing the Indian States into the Federation. Yet political reform alone cannot solve what are, perhaps, the most urgent Indian problems. These are the pressure of a huge and increasing population on the soil and the prevalence of epidemic disease and malnutrition among the peasantry. Agricultural and medical planning on a great scale is necessary; and this exceeds the powers of any private initiative. Agriculture and public health are now provincial subjects, but it would be disastrous were the Central Government to fail to collect and coordinate information for the common benefit. Fortunately a great impulse has been given to the application of modern science to agriculture by the appointment of Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy. As Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India he

POLITICAL MAP OF INDIA

REFERENCE

- Provincial Boundaries
- White areas in India are the 11 Governors Provinces except Ceylon (Crown Colony) and the Independent countries of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan
- ▨ Indian States
- ▨ Chief Commissionerships :- Br. Baluchistan Delhi. Coorg, & Ajmer Merwara
- ▨ Tribal Areas



had abundant opportunities of studying the needs of the cultivator, and the formation of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in 1929 was a consequence of his and his colleagues' recommendations. The Council has done admirable work in improving the quality of the chief Indian crops, and in diffusing the knowledge of new methods of cultivation and new defences against their pests and diseases throughout the country. The constitution of a Central Board of Health has a similar object, the coordination and expansion of public health work in the eleven provinces and ultimately in the Indian States. Official activities in these two all-important directions are the subject of articles by highly qualified correspondents, one of whom shows that public education, especially of women, is not yet so advanced as to encourage hopes of any sudden improvement in the alarming figures of infantile and maternal mortality. But no one who has travelled at all widely in India since the War can doubt that educated Indian women are beginning to play an important part in Indian social reform. Their activities and the radical spirit in which they approach their country's problems are well described by Mr. B. Shiva Ras, who, while realizing how much opposition they will encounter, is impressed by their thoroughness and energy.

Change, however, has not weakened the influence of religion upon Indian life to any appreciable extent. Neither Hinduism nor Islam is decaying ; indeed, as Sir Francis Younghusband points out, the rapid growth of new sects, such as the Ramakrishnans and the Ahmadiya, shows that popular interest in religion is as strong as ever. The Indian Christians are no whit behind other communities in zeal. Their opinions as to their position under the new Constitution are described by the Reverend William Paton, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, who notes that while they are not as a whole alarmed by the extension of self-government, they are suspicious of the system of communal electorates and apprehensive of the results of the growth of communal feeling ; and they regret that a religious leader of Mr. Gandhi's stature should have publicly expressed his hostility to the continuance of Christian evangelical activity in India. His views, however, do not seem to be generally held by Indian Nationalists. Many other matters of high importance are discussed in these pages. A Military Correspondent suggests in a thoughtful survey of the problem of Indian defence that the nearer India moves towards Dominion Status the more insistently will Indians demand a share in the control and administration of

the Indian portion of the Army in India. Other articles deal with the Press, with Finance and Indo-British trade, which is breasting the slope of recovery ; with sport, still excellent in many provinces, and with travel and scenery of which India offers a prodigious variety, from the snowy super-Alpine heights of the Himalaya to the almost Saharian barrenness of the Indian deserts of Western Rajputana. The prelude to the India Act is very thoroughly treated by that tried administrator, Sir Harcourt Butler, who describes the events of the last fifteen years and reviews the policies of the three Viceroys who preceded Lord Linlithgow. Nor is the future under the Reforms of that fine body of Indian Civil servants forgotten ; its importance, indeed, is likely to be much increased by the obvious need of the responsible provincial Governments for skilled assistance in working out their political destiny and planning their programmes of social and economic reform. For in the new India it is the District Officer who will still bear the chief responsibility for carrying the policy of Government into effect, and personality and kindness will still play a great part in the everyday work of administration.



Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India



Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India

A MEMORABLE YEAR

LORD LINLITHGOW'S MESSAGE

Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, addressed the following message to the India Number of The Times:

THE present year is one which will remain memorable in the history of India as that in which far-reaching changes were are involved in the establishment of provincial autonomy consequent on the provisions of the Government of India Act 1919. which will take place in the Provinces of British India on April 1st. which will transfer to Ministers who derive their support from a Legislature directly elected on a wide and representative franchise. are great and significant. The transfer of power which they involve is a real one, and the responsibilities which will fall upon Ministers and upon new Legislatures are substantial. No less substantial are the opportunities which they offer to men of public spirit and good will to make a contribution of lasting value to the progress and well-being of their country.

with her mosaic of numberless diversities attain to that development, political, economic, to which her circumstances and her history entitle her to aspire.

I am glad that *The Times* should have decided to commemorate the occasion by a Special Number which details not only the scope of the constitutional changes but also brings into review many of the activities of the existing administration. These activities affect the lives of the people in almost every aspect of their daily existence ; and it is appropriate that an enlightened appraisal of what has been done and what is to-day being attempted should be presented at the moment when new constitutional developments of such importance as those now before us are about to take place.

HISTORIC STATECRAFT

LORD ZETLAND'S MESSAGE

Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, addressed the following special message to the India Number of The Times :

“THE TIMES” is to be congratulated on the issue of a Special Number to commemorate the inauguration of that part of the Constitutional scheme embodied in the Act of 1935 which is known as “Provincial Autonomy,” for the historian of the future will undoubtedly regard the occasion as one of decisive importance in the history of India. A coping stone is about to be placed upon a main part of the edifice which has arisen as a result of the immense labours of the past ten years. This means that the testing time has come during which those who designed the edifice will watch with profound and sympathetic interest the outcome of an experiment in the domain of statecraft unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

Will the experiment of self-government justify itself? The answer to that question must depend in the main upon the attitude of Indians themselves towards the new responsibilities which they are now invited to shoulder. Suggestions which have been made to the effect that the powers conferred by the new Constitution should be employed to destroy the vehicle conveying them are hardly worthy, surely, of the constructive genius of the Indo-Aryan race. Happily, such suggestions are confined to a particular school of political thought and are rejected by the majority of those who, during recent years, have had actual experience of the art of government and of the realities of administration, and who are able, therefore, to take a realistic rather than a doctrinaire view of the choice which lies before them.

If a man were able to project his mind into the future and from a date fifty or more years hence to look back upon the spring of the year 1937; he would see, I think, a signpost standing at a point where

the road forked, on one finger of which was written "Evolution" and on the other "Revolution." He would also, of course, see along which of these two roads India had decided to travel. A man cannot, however, project his mind into the future in this way, but he can remind himself that for those who lived and planned fifty years ago he is himself the historian of their future and can look back and assess the past. India, in her long history, has had ample experience of revolutions and of all the ills that they carry in their train. But in recent years, so far as her constitutional development is concerned, she has followed the path of evolution, and if it be asked with what result, the answer is to be found in a comparison of the India of to-day with the India of say the year 1861, when the first small beginning was made in associating Indians with the government of the country.

It may well be doubted if the Indians of those days would have regarded even as a remote possibility an India so far advanced along the road towards self-government as is actually the India of 1937, and I can well believe that even now those who are about to take part in the scheme provided by the Act of 1935 may scarcely have realized the extent of the responsibility for the government of the country which they are called upon to undertake. Towards an adequate appreciation of the magnitude of the task which now awaits them this issue should prove to be a valuable aid.

A NEW ERA IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

POPULAR language describes April 1, 1937,* as the date of the establishment of Indian Provincial Autonomy. The description is inadequate since many other changes take effect. The new Act itself employs the phrase, "the date of the establishment of Federation." It is, however, careful to eschew the parallel phrase "the date of the establishment of Provincial Autonomy." It confers the thing. It could not, consistently with its own provisions, make the phrase a term of art to describe a distinct stage of constitutional development. The cardinal fact is that, in consequence of the constitutional principles which the Act has embraced in its first operative section, advance, whether in provinces or at the centre, can be attempted only from a new position which must be reached in one stride.

The fundamental conception of the new Act is that Government in India is the government of the Crown, conducted by authorities deriving functions directly from the Crown, in so far as the Crown does not itself retain executive functions. This conception, familiar in Dominion Constitutions, is strange to Acts for the Government of India. The Act of 1919, indeed, begins by providing that the Government of India is vested in the Crown. But it proceeds straightway to devolve upon the Secretary of State competence alike to control administration in India and to commit there or elsewhere acts of administration of his own motion. In later sections it clothes the Governor-General in Council with powers of superintendence, direction, and control over the civil and military government, and it enables provincial Governments to be invested with functions by devolution rules made by the Governor-General in Council.

The whole of the new Act rests upon a negation of this system of devolution and re-devolution. It resolutely turns its back upon

* *The Times* India Number was published on March 23, 1937.

the constitutional devices of the past. Accordingly, it sets out by explicitly resuming to the Crown all rights, authority, and jurisdiction appertaining or incidental to the government of His Majesty's territories in India. Then, looking to constitutional practice elsewhere and to the ultimate Constitution of India, it makes provision whereby the powers so reserved to the Crown may be retained by the Crown or are passed from the Crown directly and in suitable forms to appropriate authorities, mainly in India, whether the powers are to be exercised in responsibility to the local Legislature or under control on behalf of the Crown and in responsibility to Parliament.

Those who regard April 1, 1937, as merely the date of the introduction of provincial autonomy appear tacitly to assume that responsible provincial Governments of the new form might have been set up on that date, and the Central Government left to maintain its present character upon the basis of the existing Act. Such an assumption, however, finds little warrant in principle or in practice. The new Act does indeed re-enact, for the purposes of a limited period, certain provisions of the present Act regarding the Central Government. But these provisions relate not to the nature or scope of the jurisdictions of that Government, but to the manner in which these jurisdictions must be exercised. The reshaping of provinces means the reshaping of the centre, and responsible government in the one means realignment of the other. The whole panoply of relations to the provinces which in the past has given the centre so much of its bulk falls away from it.

Accordingly, the 1919 Act (saving its Preamble) will be repealed on April 1, and a new Constitution introduced giving for all Governmental authorities their new scope and positions and for some of them their new form. So comprehensive a change naturally covers many matters of detail which are of importance. Its general effect appears most clearly when its outline is severely simplified.

First, on that date all governmental jurisdictions will be resumed and a single reservoir created in the Crown. Then all the jurisdictions which His Majesty does not propose to retain for exercise by himself under the Constitution of Great Britain will be devolved upon appropriate authorities. The most important of these authorities will be four—namely, the Secretary of State, "His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States," the Central Government (the Governor-General with his Council and his Legislature), and the Provincial Governments

(the Governor with his Legislature). Finally, the Provincial Governments will be made responsible, except to a limited extent, to their Legislatures. The important points here are that there will be a new, exhaustive, and final distribution of the jurisdictions of the Crown exercisable by authorities in India, and that provincial jurisdictions will be exercised in the manner known as responsible government.

Broadly speaking, the Secretary of State, by virtue of the Indian Constitution, will control directly or indirectly all action taken in India which is taken in responsibility to Parliament; by virtue of the British Constitution he will presumably exercise all the jurisdiction of the Crown which remains in the reservoir—that is, all jurisdictions which have not been devolved from the Crown upon authorities in India. But he will not be in direct relations with Provincial Governments. Action taken by a Governor in independence of his Legislature, and so in responsibility to Parliament, will be subject to the control of the Governor-General. The unity of India will thus be preserved, but be subject to the supervision of the Secretary of State.

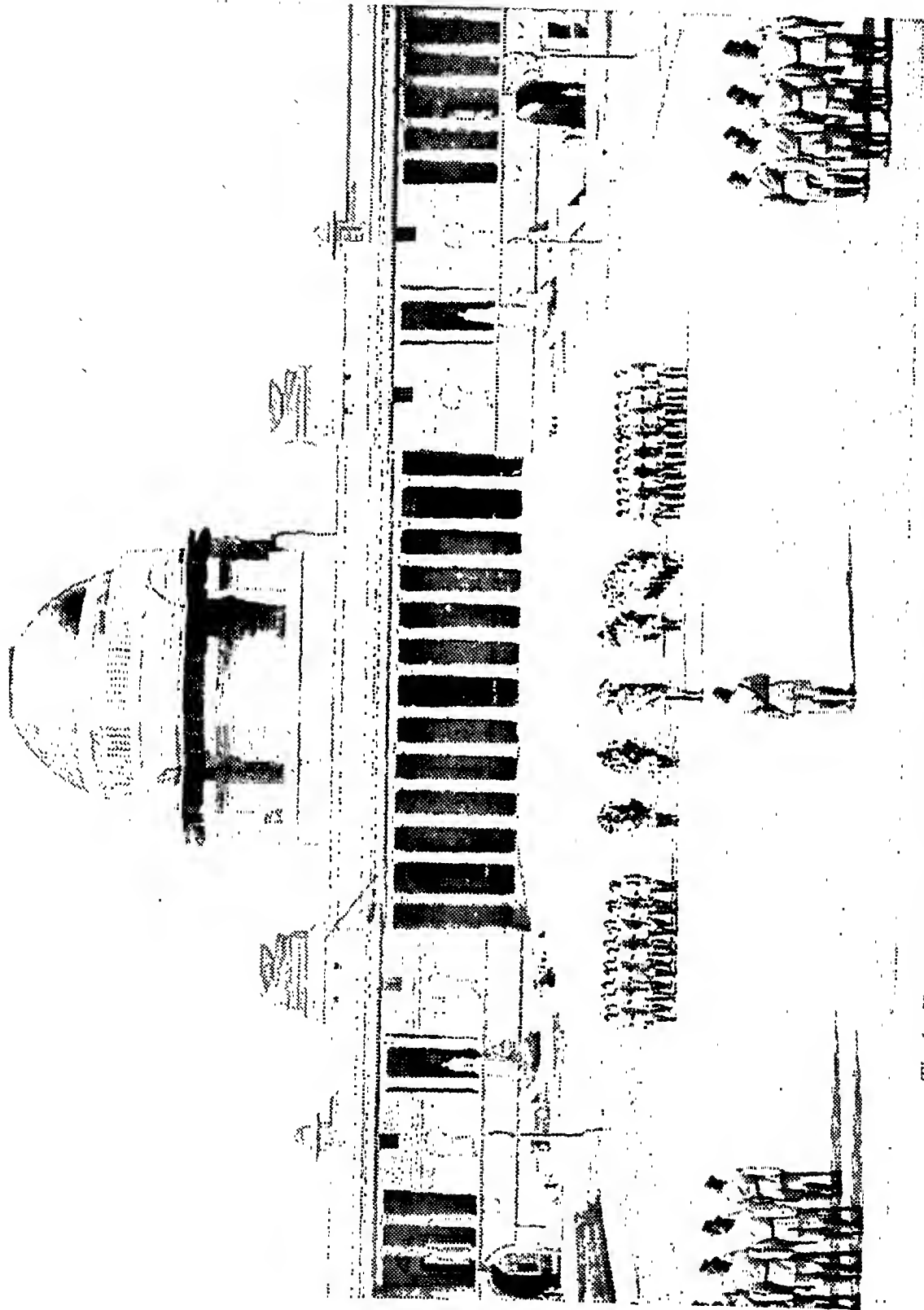
As the distribution of jurisdictions to authorities in India is not designed as a temporary arrangement it is of a comprehensive nature. In broad outline it is a distribution of legislative jurisdictions, executive jurisdictions, and of property, assets, revenues, and liabilities. For the Central and the Provincial Governments the distribution of legislative jurisdictions is made first, and upon it is modelled, but not with exact correspondence, the distribution of executive jurisdictions. The distribution of property and liabilities follows generally the distribution of executive jurisdictions, but to a certain extent Provinces will receive revenues which they do not themselves administer. For the moment, however, the point is that the distribution of jurisdictions made upon April 1 is comprehensive, and extends to legislative, executive and financial rights and powers. The financial basis of the present Constitution in His Majesty and the Secretary of State with his Council disappears.

The jurisdictions which will be conferred upon the Central Government will resemble those at present exercised by it, but will differ from them in important respects. Burma and Aden will on that date cease to be its concern, and it will lay down all the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States. These functions,

which correspond to the present activities of the political side of the existing Foreign and Political Department, will be devolved from the Crown upon a new authority known as "His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States." The office will in practice be held by the Governor-General, but, as shown in the article on the subject, it will be a distinct office outside the Government of India.

The fresh distribution of jurisdiction between the Centre and the Provinces which will take place in the spring is cardinal. The mere fact that it must then take place is important. Its nature, however, is even more striking. At present the Central and the Provincial Legislatures possess plenary legislative jurisdictions. The Central Legislature may legislate for all persons, places, and things in British India. A Provincial Legislature may legislate for the peace, order, and good government of the province. The device of "previous sanctions" in certain circumstances enables the Governor-General to determine the appropriate *forum* of legislation, and it is exercised with reference to detailed lists of Central and Provincial subjects. But the competence of legislative jurisdiction is not thereby reduced. Legislation by any Legislature, when completed by the grant of assent, is valid without respect to the lists of subjects. With effect from April, however, all Legislatures in India will lose this plenary capacity. Each, whether Central or Provincial, will possess jurisdiction only over enumerated subjects. There will be nowhere in India a general legislative jurisdiction. For the most part each Legislature will have its own field of exclusive enumerated jurisdictions, and legislation by one in the field of another will be invalid, even if the appropriate Legislature may not have legislated. But there will also be a number of subjects upon which both the Central and the Provincial Legislatures may legislate.

The fields of executive jurisdiction will be mutually exclusive. The Central Government alone will administer all subjects for which the Central Legislature alone may legislate. Each Provincial Government will alone administer for the province subjects for which the Provincial Legislature alone has jurisdiction, whether that jurisdiction be exclusive of or concurrent with that of the Central Legislature. The Central Executive will have no power itself to administer subjects within the scope of concurrent legislative powers, even when the legislation conferring executive powers is central, but for certain of these subjects it may, by central legislation, assume



The 1st Kumaon Rifles mounting guard in the courtyard of the Viceroy's House at New Delhi

to itself competence to supervise the action of Provincial Governments. Generally, however, it will be unable to direct provincial action or to enforce its own wishes. Such compulsion as Provincial Governments may be liable to will be exercised by the Governor-General in person, acting through the Governor in person, and to the extent to which the Governor may act on his own judgment or in his discretion.

These changes will have this radical effect, that for the first time every Government in India will take upon itself an individual constitutional and juristic personality. Each will be subject to that degree of control which is appropriate to its constitutional structure. But each will have its distinct individuality, will alone conduct the administration in the field allotted to it, and will itself sue and be sued in Courts of law. The agency for defining, originally or ultimately, these individualities is the Federal Court, which will be set up shortly after the new Governments are constituted. For the enforcement of contracts, however, connected with the Crown's relations with Indian States, the Secretary of State will, in the eyes of the Courts, take the place of the Crown Representative.

April 1 will bring comparatively little change for the time being to the form of the Government of India. The Legislature will remain the present Indian Legislature, constituted by election and nomination, and the franchise, yielding approximately 1,250,000 votes for both Houses, will be unaltered. The Governor-General will possess a number of personal powers (some new—for example, the administration of Baluchistan), but with these exceptions the administration will be conducted, as at present, by the Governor-General in Council in full responsibility to Parliament.

In provinces, however, the instruments of government will be recast. The franchise has been drastically lowered in the manner elsewhere described. The existing unicameral Legislatures will be replaced by greatly enlarged Legislatures, bicameral in six provinces, and unicameral in five, and constructed on the principle of maintaining determined communal and other proportions. With certain exceptions, administration will be conducted with supply granted by the Legislature in its discretion, and will therefore accord with advice tendered to the Governor by Ministers responsible to the Legislature. The Governor will himself administer a few areas known as excluded areas, mainly inhabited by aboriginal populations unsuited to the régime of representative or responsible government, and for certain

specified purposes he will be able to disregard the advice of Ministers. But apart from special areas and special purposes the government of the provinces will be of the form technically known as responsible government.

The suggestion that April 1 is the day of major change on which all Governments for the administration of India will be set upon a new ground plan and some of them internally reconstructed raises prominently two questions. First, how does that change compare in magnitude with the change which will come at the date of the establishment of the Federation? Secondly, how are these structures likely at the outset to be inhabited?

The answer to the first question is that Federation will bring by agreement a territorial extension of jurisdictions now devolved upon the centre, and a reconstruction of the central legislative and executive agencies. But it will not revise the general lay-out made now, or effect discontinuity in the individualities whose creation is the patent fact of 1937.

The answer to the second question must be given by each as he gauges the political temper and capacity of British India, and as he gives weight to his hopes or fears. The period of transition to Federation may well be one of some discomfort to the Central Government, or it may be a period of diminished political stress. There are the dangers that, being based upon enumerated jurisdictions, all specific, and being denied a general power for the welfare and good government of the people, it may relapse into a government of technical departments, and, again, that being deprived of its panoply of control over local Governments it may be little able to withstand growing provincial patriotisms. Or the present struggle between an Indian Legislature whose political prestige has so notably grown, and an irresponsible executive may be exacerbated when the advance still to be made is almost there alone to be made.

These dangers, however, should not be exaggerated. No Federal Government, however its jurisdictions may be defined, has been content to set up only specialized departments. A Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs is a commonplace of Dominions structure. The new provincial Governments are likely to require and to welcome the friendly assistance of a wise Central Government, even if it be independent of Indian opinion. Political interest may well find its major interest in the novel and exciting problems of provincial

government, and the good faith of His Majesty's Government in desiring, and of the Government of India in working for, the early attainment of Federation and for the recasting of the central system are patent to all.

The success of the provincial Constitutions depends upon provincial feeling and capacity. Provincial politicians are already aware that the problems of office are to be faced in a different spirit from those of opposition. The visions and promises of yesterday are to be translated into practice in the clear light of to-day. The experience of the preceding Government and of trained officials will not lightly be disregarded, and the constitutional principles of the Act, occidental in their derivation, have to be interpreted with reference to the innate conceptions of the people. Wise nationalists already lay their plans with the general repugnance to new direct taxation and with the deep-seated popular regard of a Governor as one who does and must interest himself in all relations with his subjects and exercise a personal influence. The cast of political opinion is towards forbearance, temperateness, and responsibility. Cabinet timber of good quality is to be found in all provinces, and there is the cordial good will of officials, the Government of India, and England.

TOWARDS FEDERATION

BY L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

WITH the coming into force of Part II of the Government of India Act the autonomous administrations of the Provinces, their Cabinets and Legislatures, will function forthwith. At the Centre the change will be less obvious; for during the transition period the existing Legislature of 1919 model will discharge in British India the duties which the Federal Legislature of the future will perform for the whole country. The Governor-General will at once enter into possession of executive powers in matters which the Act places in his "discretion"; while the Federal Court, the Public Services Commission, and the new Railway Authority will shortly come into being. Since the Constitution is an integral whole, such piecemeal functioning can be nothing more than a halt in the progress towards a completion that permits of no sustained delay. For example, the Governor-General's "special responsibilities," including the protection of the rights of the Indian States, exercisable as they are in his "individual judgment," must remain in suspense until the responsible centre is created. What hinders such a consummation?

To suppose that there is anything unprecedented in the application to India of the Federal idea is a misconception. Indeed, of all the criticisms directed against the new Constitution the charge of inherent novelty is perhaps the worst founded. From the earliest periods of which records survive we can discern traces of that delicate balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces which lies at the core of federation. The combination of central suzerainty with local autonomy running continuously through Indian history is no mere accident; it is based upon fundamentals. The great size of the country, the variations in geophysical conditions, the numerous racial and linguistic groups, the intensity of the ties arising in and limited to the narrow circles of the joint family, the village and the caste; all these in some measure underlie the tenacity with which

the local unit has preserved its place in the polity of India. On the other hand, there has never been lacking an instinctive appreciation of the necessity of some political integration higher than can be found in the local units. Only by an equilibrium between these two tendencies has political stability been attained ; to allow free rein to the one or to the other has ever been perilous. A suzerain power which extended its direct rule too widely at the expense of the local units provoked a reaction which undermined its own strength. The Moguls, like some of their predecessors, discovered this too late.

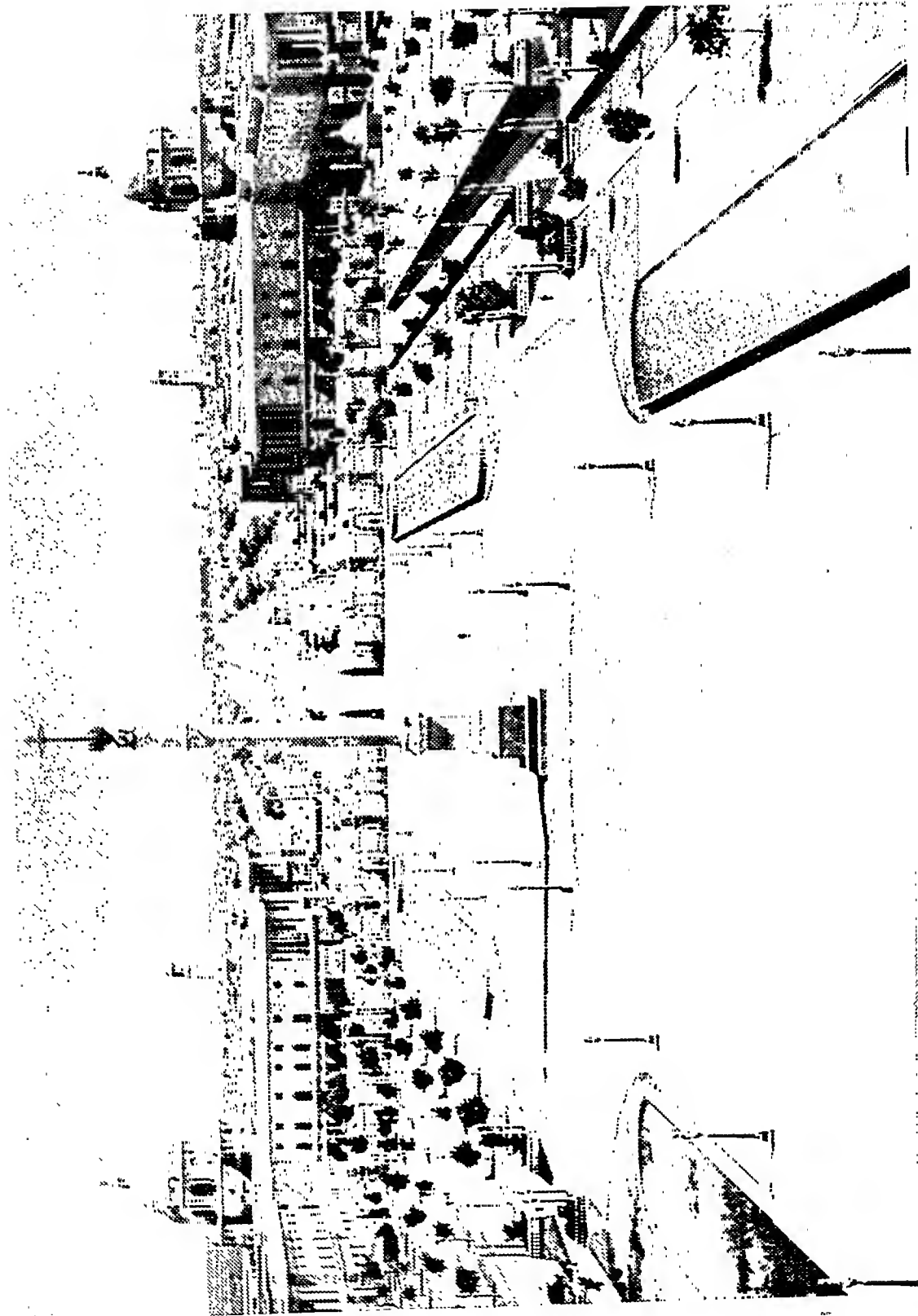
There are those who believe that we ourselves, lured by modern marvels of easy communication, all but fell into the same error ; so that the decentralization of the 1919 reforms and the more liberal "live and let live" policy towards the Indian States came, if this view be just, barely in time to avert grave discontent. But while history shows that undue centralization is dangerous, the lack of an effective suzerainty brings consequences equally lamentable. When the East India Company refused to extend the protection of its paramountcy to the territories it did not rule, it delivered the major portion of India to bitter anarchy.

There is thus a solid basis of political instinct, deep-rooted in past experience, upon which the new federal structure can be erected. The statesmanship of Britain and India has wisely turned it to account. To those unfamiliar with the "federal background" of Indian history and with the sentiments of the Indian Princes the ready acceptance by a group of rulers at the Round Table Conference of the invitation that they should join with British India in a federal scheme might, and indeed did, come as a surprise. But when we analyse what the Princes meant their attitude appears little less than inevitable. If difficulties have since appeared we must in fairness remember that between the approval of an idea—and a time-honoured idea at that—and the acceptance of it in the precise form necessary to sustain the weight of a modern Government there is a great gulf fixed, bridgeless save by patient labour.

A number of respected and experienced rulers did in fact intimate their acceptance of the federal idea and during the sessions of the Conference contributed to the task of roughly outlining what a federal Constitution for India might be supposed to look like. While a patriotic desire to cooperate with British India in raising the political

status of their Motherland was a strong motive with them, they had their own ideas of what federation should entail. They desired to exclude from the purview of the new Government such subjects as defence and foreign relations and to place them in a separate category which would maintain the Crown in the United Kingdom as an active partner in the Administration. They desired rigorously to limit the "subjects of common concern" for which they were to federate, and to make everything else the business of British India; but they were insistent that these subjects must be controlled by a small responsible Government from which the discretionary element of paramountcy would be excluded. They postulated freedom to leave the Federation if they ceased to approve of it; and they did not readily accept the position that federal legislation, even within the restricted field they envisaged, should automatically bind every federated State. They did not realize that they were falling into the old error of overloading the "local autonomy" scale of the traditional political balance; and that the only form of federation suited to the requirements of the whole country involved the creation of a new integrated Government which, throughout the entire field demarcated as federal, must control States and Provinces with equal authority. They failed to see that from its inception such a Government, save in so far as its power to override extra-statal rights would be limited by "safeguards" in the hands of the Governor-General, must function in the federal field as the succession Government to the existing Government of India. Those officials to whom was allotted the task of shaping the details of the Constitution naturally fell into no such error; indeed, so clearly did they realize the necessity for a strong centre that they tended perhaps towards the opposite misconception.

It is not difficult to understand how the gradual, remorseless transmutation of the limited federalism envisaged by the Princes into the form assumed by the new Constitution has from time to time excited some alarm. They had been at pains to reserve the right of suspended judgment until they had enjoyed the opportunity of "seeing the completed picture"; but their attitude, natural as it was, involved the somewhat perilous consequence that the immense design, initially at least, took shape without their collaboration. Only one or two of the most far-sighted realized the desirability of keeping in touch, through English counsel, with the patient officials who week by week and month by month were creating the new structure.



New Delhi from the Viceroys' House. In the foreground is the Vicroy's Court with the Jaipur Commemorative Column in the centre, and beyond the All India War Memorial.

TOWARDS FEDERATION

The publication of the White Paper in 1933 brought matters to a head. The note of alarm sounded in the Chamber of Princes by the late Maharajah of Nawanagar—himself distinguished for vision, patriotism, and loyalty—disconcerting though it was to those who realized the inevitability of federation, served a useful purpose. It showed that the time had come to pay more attention to the susceptibilities of the "local units" than had hitherto been found possible by harassed statesmen and hard-pressed draughtsmen, eager to put into legal form the outlines of a great and complicated measure. Other protests followed, notably from Hyderabad and some of the most progressive States. Concern was expressed that in detail the White Paper did not embody some of the "understandings" previously reached. The apprehensions of the States were honest and largely founded upon competent legal opinion. As this was appreciated the sky cleared. The more progressive States realized that federation called for greater self-denial than they had thought and cooperated earnestly with the work of the Joint Select Committee, over which the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, presided with conspicuous success. Nevertheless it was plain that before the States could accede to federation as now understood two stages still remained. In the first place the terms and conditions of accession must be such as to ensure that no State would be required to imperil its political existence, its financial stability, or such of its sovereign rights as were not essential for the working of the Federal Government. Next, when these terms and conditions had been settled to the satisfaction of the "reasonable Ruler," it still remained to fit the individual States, with their widely differing characteristics and historical angularities, into the framework prepared for their reception. The range of variety is startling. There are States as large as the United Kingdom ; there are "estates" as small as a field. Even when federation has been made "safe for the States" practical problems of the most complex nature will persist.

The States regard it as essential that their accession should not imply subjection to legislation by the Parliament of the United Kingdom ; that the functions of the Federal Executive and Legislature should, within State territory, be limited to the matters defined in the Instruments of Accession ; that the restriction of State rights outside State territory should be prevented by the intervention of the Governor-General ; that future economic burdens should be allocated, as between British India and "Indian India," in a fashion

at once equitable and clear ; that the Federal machinery should possess, outside its defined limits, no jurisdiction over the rights and obligations linking the States to the Crown ; that paramountcy should not be applicable within the Federal sphere ; and that " wide " drafting should give the Federal Court no opportunity to undermine the efficacy of the protection the States are seeking against possible encroachments on the part of the centre. This last point is one which still causes concern to the States, who realize that the future has no place for the unwritten understandings and " gentleman's agreements " which have hitherto played so large a part in the preservation of their historic position. Those critics who accuse them of taking an unduly legalistic view should in charity consider the risks attendant upon rashness.

From the standpoint of these requirements the original Bill did not strike the States as satisfactory. But, thanks to careful negotiation by some of them—and Hyderabad again merits honourable mention here—the Bill was so modified as to remove many of the positive obstacles to the achievement of what was desired through the medium of the Instruments of Accession. It was unfortunate that some twelve months were allowed to elapse between the passing of the Act and the publication of the revised Draft Instrument. The delay has slowed the whole process and has exposed the authorities to the charge of permitting the States only a few months to consider a document which Government took a year to construct. Indeed, between the Royal Approval to the Act and the communication to them in August of the Draft Instrument few States devoted much study to Federal questions. The Chamber of Princes was racked with feuds, and its influence, which had been on the decline since 1933, when many important States severed their connexion with it, suffered further diminution. The collective voice of Princely India tended more and more to proceed from the All-India Committee of Ministers which, under the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari, represented very powerful and progressive interests. The place which the Chamber did not fill began to be taken by regional groups. The example set by Western India and Gujarat, which organized itself under the lead of the Maharao of Kutch to examine the bearing of Federation upon local problems (including the position of the Maritime States) and to take legal advice in common, has been followed elsewhere ; and there are some indications that out of these regional groups, thanks to the efforts of certain enlightened rulers and the skill of Ministers

like Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, a reformed and strengthened organization, adapted to the new conditions, may one day arise—always provided that joint action among the Princes is not officially discouraged. On the long view, such a policy would be unfortunate, for cooperation between the States, hard to achieve and easy to destroy, is an essential element in the working of the new Constitution.

The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, has done all in his power to obviate delays. He issued letters to the Princes commending the Federal Constitution to them, inviting their considered views at an early date, and announcing his intention of dispatching his own representatives to clear away doubts and to explain difficulties in personal interviews with the rulers. At first his action caused some disquietude to the States. Those which had already made a serious study of the Constitution were more or less prepared; although even they considered that the time allowed them for consideration was somewhat restricted. Those who had postponed detailed examination until "the completed picture" was ready found themselves in a less fortunate position. Certain of them took alarm, and in their agitation have put forward claims which can hardly be reconciled with the essential basis of Federation. The influence of the Viceroy's three emissaries, who divided between them the visits to Rulers, together with the steadying influence of such statesmen as the Rulers of Bhopal, Bikaner, and Patiala, have begun to produce a calmer atmosphere.

The general effect of the activity which began in the autumn of 1936 has been to oblige the States to face the second of the two stages—that of fitting themselves into the Federal pattern—before the first stage—that of securing the satisfactory shaping of their portion of it—is wholly complete. Thus they are still negotiating simultaneously for certain essential changes desired by them all in the draft Instrument of Accession and for those "limitations" upon the items on the Federal List which each State requires to meet its individual circumstances. There is still some fear among them lest the Government of India should underestimate the complexity of the legal questions involved in providing adequate security for their interests.

Certain other difficulties call for tactful handling. Some of the smaller States whose grade in the Salute List corresponds more closely with their lofty lineage than with their present position, deeply resent the "pooling" of representatives that Federation will impose upon them. Lower in the scale, large numbers of tiny

“jurisdictions” will find themselves merged into groups of a practicable size. They dread the process. The Maritime States are in a difficult position and here constitutional purism must make concessions to practical expediency.

None the less, the inception of the Federation should be possible at no distant date. The accession of thirty States, if all the multi-membered units join from the start, will fulfil the requirements of the Act ; while fact, legal acumen, and a sympathetic attitude on the officials’ side may be trusted gradually to bring in the hesitant. The statesmanship shown by Lord Linlithgow in the settlement of the Berars is a good omen. Such a spirit will carry all before it. But patience is indispensable. Should the States be induced or even permitted to accede on conditions which afford no real security the loss will not fall on them alone. The whole Federal structure will suffer from their weakness. This structure is so majestic that its inauguration must not be marred by any suspicion on the part of the States that the free choice promised to them is illusory.

The Federal conception, though in imperfect form, is an essential element in India’s political heritage. Expressed in a shape adapted to the requirements of this age it will assuredly provide, in Lord Linlithgow’s words, “a spectacle whose dignity and grandeur will not be unworthy of this great and famous country.”

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD ACT

IN August, 1917, Mr. E. S. Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, found occasion to announce in the House of Commons that "the policy of His Majesty's Government is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." He added that substantial steps in this direction were to be taken as soon as possible ; that progress in this policy could only be achieved by successive stages, and that the British Government and the Government of India must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, being guided by the cooperation received from Indians and the extent to which it was found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. The substance, and to a large extent the actual words, of this announcement were utilized as the famous Preamble to the "Montagu-Chelmsford" Act of 1919.

The law then in force for the government of India, into which the amending Act of 1919 was to infuse the beginnings of responsible government, was a consolidation carried out in 1915 of a series of more than forty enactments, six of which dated from the eighteenth century ; and the system of government it provided had remained in essence unchanged since Parliament had assumed direct responsibility for the government of India in 1858. It was a strictly official hierarchy—the Secretary of State in supreme control of "all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the government of India" and of all expenditure from the revenues of India ; the Central Government of India—the Governor-General in Council—in control of "the civil and military government of India," but "required to pay due obedience to all such orders as he may receive from the Secretary of State" ; and, finally, in each province a local Government, likewise bound to "obey the orders of the Governor-General in Council and keep him constantly and diligently informed of its proceedings" and under his direction and control in all matters

for over two years, there have been no deadlocks. The legislative councils have aroused popular interest, and there has been no lack of candidates at the four General Elections which have been held since 1921. The output of sound legislation has been considerable, and enormous numbers of questions have been put and resolutions debated. The provincial legislatures have thus undoubtedly become to a far greater extent than previously the forum *par excellence* of political interest. But it can hardly be said that they have made a proportionate advance towards "the realization of responsible government." The responsibility of Ministers to the legislature for the transferred subjects committed to their charge, which the framers of the Act sought to establish through the dyarchic principle, has been but imperfectly realized. Various reasons may be assigned to this, notably the continued existence of a solid block of official votes upon which Ministers could naturally count, with the result that Ministers on the one hand have tended less than was hoped to feel the need of building up and leading a body of non-official supporters in the legislatures; while the legislatures, on the other hand, have tended to draw little or no distinction between Ministers and executive councillors, and to regard the former, once appointed, as immediately tarred with the Government brush. It has even been claimed that the dyarchic constitution has worked best in those provinces where its principles have been ignored and where every effort has been made to overlook the distinction between "reserved" and "transferred" subjects by treating the dualistic executive as a Cabinet collectively responsible for the whole business of government. But the result of this policy has inevitably been to extend the influence of the legislature at the expense of its sense of responsibility, and to weaken the nexus between Minister and legislature which the dyarchic principle was designed to promote.

At the centre it is perhaps a matter for some surprise that the contact between an irremovable executive and a legislature in which a natural tendency to oppose the Government was given the ample scope afforded by an overwhelming elected non-official majority has on the whole worked so well. Some would, no doubt, contend that the Government in the effort to keep on terms with the legislature has tended to resort to opportunism in directions and to an extent which pre-reform administrators who were freer to follow their own conscience would have regarded as a dereliction of duty; on the other hand, the non-official members have not infrequently trooped



Lord Chelmsford (1868-1933), Viceroy of India (1916-1921)



Mr. E. S. Montagu (1879-1924), Secretary of State for India (1917-1922)

into the lobby against the Government with the comforting knowledge that the Governor-General's powers would be brought into play to counteract their vote. But on the whole the Indian Legislature has exhibited a sense of responsibility and has maintained a standard which in all the circumstances is remarkable, and is a tribute to the relations maintained with their non-official colleagues by the official members, upon whom the combination with heavy departmental duties of the exacting task of constant attendance and preparedness in the Legislature has added a severe burden.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

BY A MILITARY CORRESPONDENT

WHATEVER changes there may be in the direction of affairs generally and of defence in particular under the new Constitution, the military liability implicit in the phrase "Defence of India" remains unchanged, and the factors which compose the problem of defence still remain constant. Federal India will continue to be a continent covering an area of about 1,575,000 square miles, and as large as the continent of Europe, omitting Russia. Her population is now some 342,000,000, and is on the increase. Her frontier extends for thousands of miles, of which the absolute custody of some 550 miles is vital to her very existence. She now boasts of some 38,000 miles of railways, of which 4,000 miles are essential communications in the event of war. In India itself the state of communal tension is such that nobody can say from day to day whether or where disturbances will not break out to-morrow. On the frontier the situation is even more mercurial, and the transition from a state of peace to a state of war and back again to peace is generally fortuitous, but always amazingly rapid.

The Defence Forces, which are usually loosely referred to as the Army in India, comprise the Indian Navy, consisting of a few armed sloops; the Royal Air Force, of a size commensurate with India's particular needs; the Army in India, consisting of British and Indian units; and the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. These are all under the command of the Commander-in-Chief and are administered by the Defence Department. The States of India, which occupy about one-third of the territory of India, are in no way subordinate to the Defence Department, nor do they contribute financially towards the defence of India. A certain number maintain State Forces from within their own revenues, and some of these would be made available for general defence purposes in the event of an emergency.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

Changes in the direction and control of defence implicit in the new Constitution may perhaps be best explained by a brief comparison between the system as practised to-day ; the modifications which will be necessary during the period of transition—that is to say, after the establishment of provincial autonomy, but before the establishment of full Federal government ; and finally the system as it will be after full Federal government is set up.

Under the existing system the Secretary of State for India is the constitutional and legal head of the Government of India. Subject to his orders responsibility for defence rests with the Governor-General in Council. Included in that Council as an executive member sharing joint responsibility with other members is the Commander-in-Chief, who, as member in charge of the Defence Department, is himself a member of the Council of State, his Defence Secretary being a member of the Legislative Assembly. Finance is controlled by the Finance Department. Local governments are subordinate in everything that affects defence to the Government of India, and perform many functions on behalf of the Government of India in the Defence Department.

During the period of transition the Secretary of State for India will cease to be the constitutional and legal head of the Government of India, and the executive responsibility for defence will, for the time being, devolve on the Governor-General in Council, who will, however, remain under the general control of the Secretary of State. Although the constitutional relationship between the centre and the provinces will be changed and local governments will not be subordinate to the Governor-General in Council, administrative convenience will render necessary a continuance of the existing system as far as possible, and the Act contains provisions by which this object can be secured. Military finance will still be controlled by the Finance Department.

Once Federal government is fully established responsibility for defence, in the spheres of both policy and expenditure, will rest with the Governor-General alone in his discretion, subject to the general control of the Secretary of State. The Commander-in-Chief will cease to be a “ member of the Government,” but will remain in supreme command of all the armed forces, and will be the technical adviser to the Governor-General on questions of strategy, war preparation, and the conduct of war. The Governor-General may, in his discretion, appoint a counsellor to assist him in the administration

of defence and to be his mouthpiece in the Legislature. This counsellor will possess the right of audience but not the right of voting. Defence expenditure will not be subject to the control of the Federal Finance Department, but will be the sole responsibility of the Governor-General assisted by a finance counsellor. The Governor-General will be under an obligation to consult the Federal Ministers regarding the fixation of the defence budget.

Whereas under the existing system the Commander-in-Chief as a member of Council is himself present at discussions on major questions of defence policy and expenditure, and, if in disagreement with the conclusions reached, has the right to submit a minute of dissent, in future the position will be that on questions of administration which may affect the discharge of the Commander-in-Chief's duties the Governor-General will be charged with the duty of obtaining the views of the Commander-in-Chief and of transmitting these views to the Secretary of State should the Commander-in-Chief so request. The Secretary of State will retain the right of referring questions to the Committee of Imperial Defence at his discretion. In India the Governor-General will be the sole permanent member of the Indian Defence Council with power to coopt any individual he may desire. This Council is an instrument entirely independent of the present or of the future Act, and although seldom invoked under the existing Act, it may and probably will serve a useful function in future as a means of bridging the gap between the reserved and transferred Departments.

It would be folly to imagine that difficulties—political, practical, and financial—will not arise. For example, it is argued that under the new Constitution the Defence Department will be divorced not only from contact with the Legislature, but also from contact with other Departments of Government. Again, it is a fact that although law and order, excluding the use of troops, is a provincial subject, the maintenance of law and order in India, as in all other countries, must depend ultimately on the Regular armed forces. Finally, there is the vexed question of finance, which ultimately lies at the root of all other difficulties. None of these is, however, insurmountable, given rational personalities, regular machinery for consultation, and mutual confidence and good will.

The primary function of India's defence forces is the discharge of India's domestic military liability, which comprises local naval defence, security from invasion, and the maintenance of the equilibrium

on the North-West and North-East Frontiers, and the restoration of law and order in India itself in support of the civil power. *Prima facie* this is a purely Indian liability to be discharged by the forces and resources which are maintained from Indian revenues. It is usually referred to as the "Minor Danger," and the liability is limited to dealing with acts of aggression by a single neighbouring State, to the quelling of tribal disturbances and tribal incursions into administered territory, and to action in aid of the civil power.

With the separation of Burma as an independent entity the liability for the protection of the North-East Frontier will, in the first instance, devolve on the Burma Defence Force, with the other forces of the Empire, including notably the Army in India, ready to support that force should the necessity arise.

Aside from the domestic problem, the defence of India may at any time present an Imperial liability consequent on the intrusion of a third or fourth Power, which would necessitate defence by land, by sea, and by air. In the matter of land operations the Army in India could and would provide an effective spearhead pending the arrival of reinforcements from overseas, and although the initial objective would have to be limited to the resources available, its action would go far towards easing the ultimate task of the Imperial Forces. In the matter of sea operations India's Navy is neither designed nor equipped for offensive action, and the most India could do with her own resources would be to defend the major ports of Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Rangoon, and possibly Madras, Cochin, Vizagapatam, and Chittagong, and to secure unrestricted ingress to and egress from these ports. The task of clearing the adjacent seas of enemy ships and of keeping open communications with the Mother Country would be the responsibility of His Majesty's Navy. In the matter of air operations the Air Force maintained by India is organized both as to size and as to equipment for her own particular problem and would not be capable of dealing with a first-class air Power. As, therefore, in operations on the sea, India would look to Imperial sources for offensive air action.

On the other side of the picture India, on her part, has in the past and will again in the future lend forces for Imperial service overseas should the occasion arise, provided that the situation in India permits. During the fifty years previous to 1914 India provided contingents for Imperial service overseas on no fewer than eight

different occasions, and her generous contribution during the Great War is still fresh in our memories.

Although early yet to attempt to prophesy, it would surely be unwise to play the ostrich and refuse to recognize certain signs and portents which may point the way to possible lines of evolution in the future. A pertinent criticism by Indians of the new Constitution is that, shorn of responsibility for defence, self-government is a meaningless phrase. The draft instrument of instructions to the Governor-General recognizes this principle by admitting that "the defence of India must to an increasing extent be the concern of the Indian people"; and practical steps have been in operation for a considerable number of years to create a purely Indian Defence Force. The process is bound to be slow, slower possibly than the Indians like, but the issue is vital and does not admit of risks being taken. In effect, however, the seeds of a Dominion Army have been sown, and though that Army is still in its childhood it will in time, presumably, grow up and reach years of discretion. Before, therefore, India reaches the stage of a fully fledged Dominion we may expect an increasing desire on the part of Indians themselves to take a larger share in the control and administration of the purely Indian portion of the Army in India, although neither ready nor equipped to assume full responsibility for the defence of India, which will still remain the constitutional responsibility of the Governor-General.

As provincial autonomy carrying with it responsibility for maintaining law and order becomes more and more established we may expect to see a growing desire on the part of Provincial Governments to free themselves from dependence on the Federal Forces to restore law and order by themselves raising and maintaining local defence forces in support of their civil police. Should this occur the Regular Forces in India may be relieved altogether of internal security liabilities and be able to concentrate their attention on the problem of defence alone.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN FEDERAL INDIA

NO student of the British connexion with India can fail to be impressed by the enormous influence of the personality of the Governor-General on policy and administration through the 164 years since Warren Hastings assumed charge of that office under the Regulating Act of 1773. Despite the striking contrasts in personality of the heads of the Government and the frequent changes in the measure and extent of home control, there has remained the constant factor of the Governor-General wielding an authority and influence without parallel in the other oversea possessions of the Crown. But great as the importance of suitable selection to the office has been since the eighteenth century it will be even more important in Federal India. As with the British Crown under the growth of Constitutional principles, while the Governor-General's direct authority in ordinary administration may be restricted in scope his influence will be even more pervading than in the past.

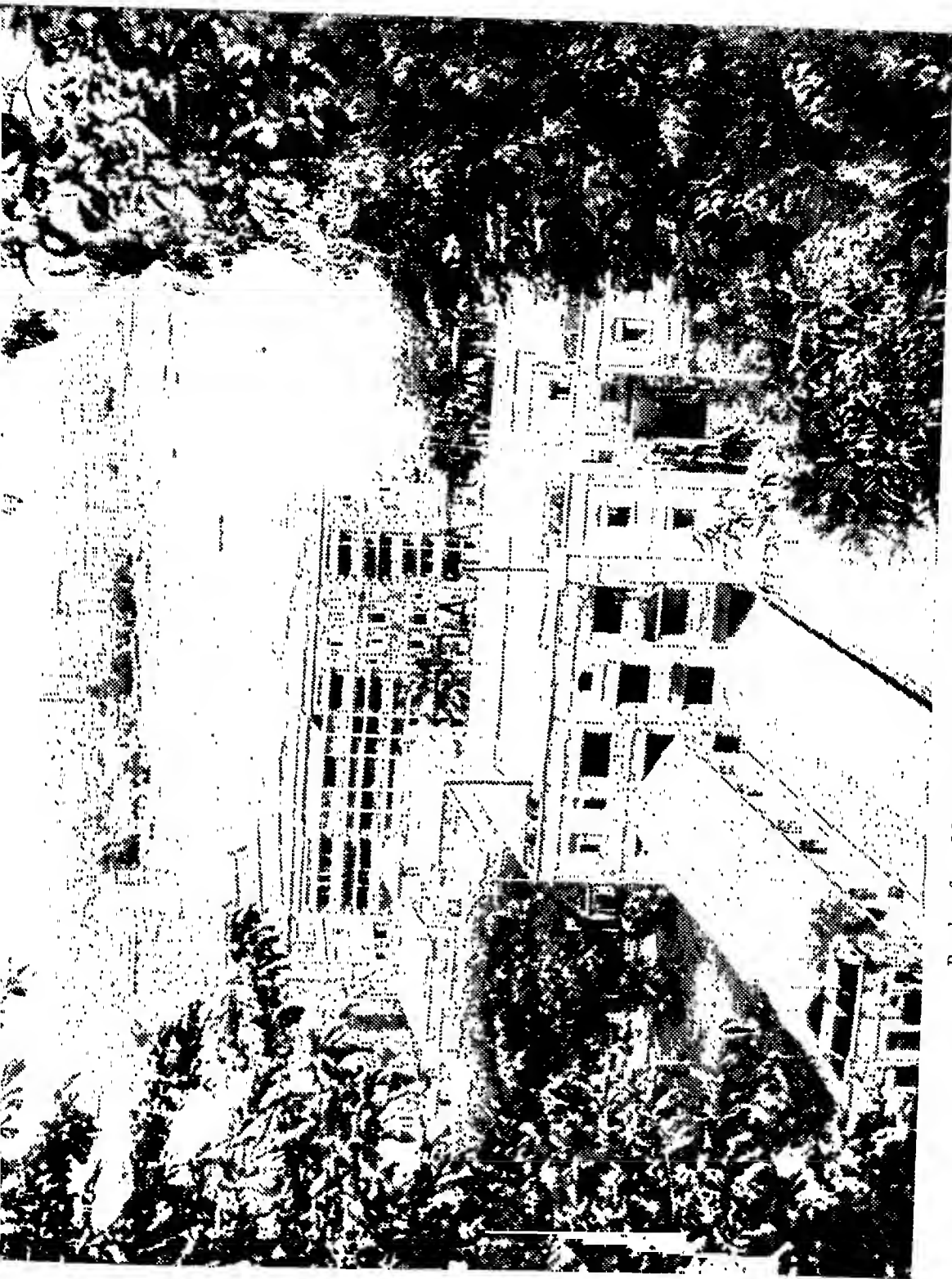
The Government of India Act places on the Governor-General (who is nowhere therein referred to as "Viceroy") a very heavy burden of responsibility. Sir Robert Horne described him in the Parliamentary debates as "the linch-pin of the whole system, the keystone of this mighty fabric." In the eyes of some well-informed critics the main risk of the great experiment now being entered upon is that of the impossibility of ensuring by legislation or any automatic plan that the holder of the office will invariably be a statesman of resource and vision. Names will come to mind of past Governors-General who might have been unequal to the strain of discharging the manifold responsibilities imposed on future holders of the office by more than 100 sections of the Act; but there is the comforting

reflection that these duties were held to be within the powers of one individual by the three former Viceroys who were members of the Joint Select Committee. Detailed provision is made to give the Governor-General both the general and financial power and the direct assistance necessary for the fulfilment of his obligations.

The Governor-General will have all such powers and duties as are conferred or imposed on him by the Act, and such other powers as the King may be pleased to assign. The Act expressly excludes from the latter category "powers connected with the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States," and for the exercise of these functions establishes a separate office which will be distinct from that of the Governor-General and will in a sense be extraneous to the Federal Constitution. Not only will it be lawful for the King to appoint one person to fill both offices, but any other course would be most inconvenient. If the offices were held separately, the Crown's Representative would tend to be overshadowed by his colleague, since many of the more characteristic functions of the present Viceroy will necessarily attach to the Governor-General as the head of the Federal Government. But popular usage will doubtless continue to attach to the holder of the dual office the designation of "Viceroy," and indeed it may well be that occasion will be found for its formal conferment.

When the Federal Executive is established the Governor-General will be its head and all executive authority will be in his name. Generally speaking under the Act, Federal executive authority follows and is conditioned by the Federal legislative power, but certain important features of it are expressly emphasized in the Act. These include the raising of naval, military, and air forces in British India; the governance of all armed forces borne on the Indian Establishment; and powers in relation to tribal areas.

As head of the Federal Executive the Governor-General will in a great many cases be bound by the advice of his Ministers, who will be responsible to the Federal Legislature. But in other cases he will not be so bound. These cases are divided into two categories. He will act in some "in his discretion" and need not consult his Ministers thereon; in others he will act "in the exercise of his individual judgment." Here he must consult his Ministers, but decides for himself. Broadly the distinction between the two categories is that "discretion" applies to matters which do not fall within the sphere of action of the Federal Ministers, while "individual judgment"



Bombay from Malabar Hill, the beautiful residential quarter of the city

applies to things which lie within this sphere. It is important to note that when acting under either category the Governor-General is not the mouthpiece of the responsible Federal Government, but is responsible to, and subject only to control by, the Secretary of State for India and the Cabinet.

“Discretion” relates largely to matters within the departments—defence, external affairs, ecclesiastical affairs, and tribal areas—which are reserved to the Governor-General. But it also includes the appointment and dismissal of Ministers. His “individual judgment” covers, besides certain specific powers so exercisable, the ground of his special responsibilities as set out in Section 12 of the Act. They correspond closely to the special responsibilities conferred upon Governors of Provinces under Section 52, but he has the added duty of “the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federal Government.” It should be noted that there is to be joint consultation between the Governor-General, his statutory Counsellors (who are his personal advisers and are not to be more than three in number) and his Ministers. But in the exercise of any special responsibility the Governor-General is given the widest possible powers. He can override ministerial advice, he can obtain all the money he needs, and he can secure legislation which the Legislature declines to pass.

When the Legislature is not in session he may promulgate such ordinances as may be necessary for immediate urgency. But his power to do so independently of his Ministers has specific statutory limitations. If at any time he feels he needs legislative provision to enable him to discharge his responsibilities he may enact a Bill as a Governor-General’s Act, or attach a draft Bill in a message to the Legislature. It is important to note that these and other like provisions do not enlarge the scope of legislation under the Act; or permit of enactments which the Federal Legislature itself will not be competent to pass. They can only be used if the Federal Government neglects its duty.

Lastly, the Governor-General is to be the rallying point in the event of a breakdown. If he is satisfied that the Constitution cannot be carried on, he may take to himself all or any of the powers vested in any Federal authority except the Federal Court; or he may declare that all or some of his functions are to be exercised at his discretion. A proclamation of such emergency must be communicated to the

Secretary of State and operates only for six months, but Parliament can extend it by annual periods up to a total of three years.

The powers and initiative devolving on the Governor-General have seemed to many Indian politicians to be formidable bars to Ministerial responsibility to the Legislature. But no small proportion of these powers are held in reserve, and will not operate if all goes well. There can be no better wish at this time of initiation of the first stages of reform than that these reserve powers will remain unused because the Constitution is functioning in the normal way designed by the Act.

PARTIES AND PERSONALITIES

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA

POLITICAL thinking in India has been greatly altered since the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935. All political elements in the country are now aware of the possibilities and potentialities underlying the reforms. The general demand for political freedom which has featured political life for two decades has been tempered by the realities of provincial autonomy and the prospect of a federation between British India and the Indian States at no distant date.

This does not imply that the various political groups are satisfied with the measure of constitutional advance that has been conceded. Even those politicians who comment favourably on the reforms invariably preface their comment with the claim that they do not satisfy Indian aspirations. But the constitutional advance is sufficiently marked, particularly in its provincial aspects, to have brought about a readjustment of policies. Only among extremists does the inclination remain to overlook those historical facts and existing conflicting conditions which inevitably tend to counteract an undiluted Nationalism.

Political activities in the country follow two distinctive lines. The one concerns itself with political theorizing about freedom and liberty; this colours all Nationalist thinking, and finds its chief expressions through the Indian National Congress Party. The other has a definite bearing on current political and constitutional issues and has its main outlet in provincial politics. The character of the old Legislatures, which provided separate representation for each of the main communities and interests, tended to create parties on communal lines. This tendency has become more pronounced in recent years, and is not likely to be eliminated in the immediate future.

The implications of the new Constitution have created new rivalries, although there is still lacking that organization of political

parties along social and economic lines common to the democracies of the West. The vastness of the constituencies and the variety of the populations make it difficult for well-defined political units to emerge. This factor is further complicated by contrasting social and religious conditions, many of which are inherited from medievalism or from characteristics inherent in the Hindu caste system and the Moslem faith.

The racial cleavage which segregates the great Moslem minority community in certain provinces of the north has resulted in the main Nationalist movement being predominantly Hindu. From time to time circumstances have thrown the two communities together; but the alliance has never been more than artificially sustained. Some Moslem leaders, and quite prominent ones, are associated with the Congress party; but the Moslem community as a whole holds aloof from the Hindu elements which are its essential components. There are several leaders who are anxious to break down the communal barriers which separate the two communities, but the divergences of thought and problems of race which keep them apart are likely to be mitigated only by time and education.

The Moslems, loosely organized and lacking trusted leaders, concern themselves chiefly with safeguarding their status in provinces where they predominate—the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Bengal, and Sind. Although they profess to be organized on an all-India basis their interests lie chiefly in these provinces. On the other hand, the National Congress Party has a powerful influence throughout the country, even in a minor degree in the Moslem provinces.

The Congress Party is the focal point for theoretical national aspirations. There is much artificiality in its policy, and behind the façade of solidarity it maintains in public there are dissensions and difficulties. It shelters within its fold a wide variety of political philosophies, ranging from the theories of Socialism and Communism to a Conservatism derived from the Hindu caste system, which is the negation of democracy. Its homogeneity is frequently threatened by such leaders as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose political thinking outstrips the intelligence of many of his followers, but who has a great influence upon the younger and more pliable elements of the party.

Pandit Nehru is to-day the outstanding figure in Indian politics. He is uncompromising in his hostility to the British Administration.

He aims at the creation of an "anti-Imperialist front" and a Socialist state by organizing working-class elements and the peasants under the wing of the Congress Party. This policy has met with opposition from many who are loyal to Nationalist ideals but are unwilling to subscribe to anything that savours of Socialism. But Socialism is nevertheless emerging as a reality, and the Congress Socialists have a strong and growing following within the party. Under the leadership of Pandit Nehru they hope ultimately to achieve their ideal of a Socialist state by permeating the Congress Party with Socialist principles.

In relation to the Congress Party Mr. Gandhi, at one time its principal leader, now stands in a peculiar position. Some time ago he withdrew from active leadership, convinced that his individuality was having an excessive influence on party affairs. He abandoned public politics for social work among the Untouchables, that remarkable minority of about 60,000,000 souls whose social status places them on the outer fringes of Hinduism. Prominent Congress leaders are constantly in touch with him, and he is reputed to be guiding the party in certain specific directions. Even when giving first place to village activities Mr. Gandhi is expected by his adherents to be ready with his counsel on all matters affecting the Congress Party.

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the masses is as strong as ever, although only a faithful coterie of his adherents appears to be inclined to follow him into the wilderness of the Indian villages. There are some who consider that circumstances may again bring him into the political limelight, and many Congress leaders hope for this. While politically-minded Indians are unable to follow his leadership consistently they can never entirely dissociate themselves from his guidance, although they are not wholly at ease on the moral and mental plane upon which the Mahatma moves. His value to the party is thoroughly appreciated by its more mediocre politicians, whose own qualities of leadership are insufficient to give impetus to the national policies the party is supposed to control.

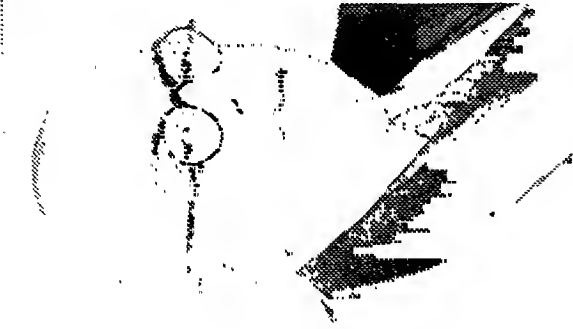
These policies are not always concerned with political realities, with the result that the party has attained an importance not wholly commensurate with its achievements. The claim that it speaks for all the social and political elements in the land is strongly repudiated by Liberals, Moderates, and by most Moslems. Aided by a Nationalist Press, which is also chiefly Hindu, the party has created the impression

that a greater unity exists than does in fact obtain. But the party is so well organized that its opponents are inevitably handicapped ; they find it difficult to deal with politicians who claim to represent those national ideals to which all patriotic citizens might be expected to subscribe.

Recent party formations in India have, therefore, found their chief expression in the provinces, although Moslems and the National Liberal Federation do not confine their activities to individual provinces. A breach between the moderate and the extremer members of the Congress Party in 1918 saw the birth of the Liberal Federation, which offers a platform to many brilliant Moderate leaders. The Liberals exert a greater influence than is generally suspected, and Liberal leaders played a significant part in moulding the new Constitution. Within their ranks they have several notable figures, but the party lacks effective leadership and that organization which makes the Congress movement so potent a factor in national public life.

In their attitude to the new Constitution some Liberals have shown as much opposition as the extremer Congressmen, although the more moderate members invariably confine their criticisms within the realities of the problem. The Liberals oppose the Congress proposal to wreck the reforms and will work the new Act in the interests of the people. But they appear to despair of ever making headway against the Congress Party, whose theoretic ideals of freedom naturally give that party the advantage in making a popular appeal. The possibility of cooperation between Congressmen and Liberals is not hopeful, and it has been made more remote as a result of the Socialist preachings of Pandit Nehru, whose demand for complete independence also clashes with the Liberal ideal of Dominion status.

The Liberals have several prominent publicists, whose courageous policies indicate that Liberalism may be a potent feature of the future. Among them are Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who frequently makes pronouncements which reorientate the views of many inclined to be more extreme ; Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, an orator and prominent figure in the Servants of India Society, an organization which generally keeps the flag of Liberalism aloft ; Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, a member of the Legislative Assembly, whose business experience and political acumen frequently brings him into conflict with the Congress Party ; Sir Phiroze Sethna, whose trenchant attacks



The Aga Khan



Sir Akbar Hydari



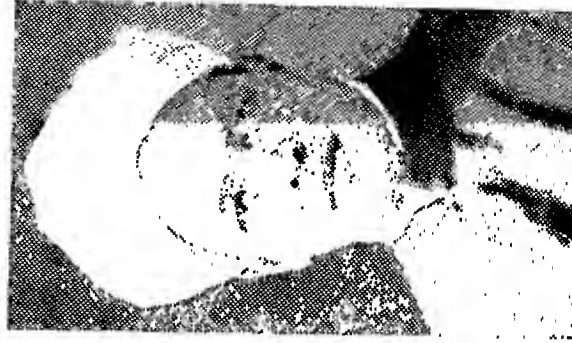
Sir Krishnama Chari



Sir Mirza Ismail



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru



The Rt. Hon. Srinavasa
Sastri



The Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur
Sapru



Mr. M. K. Gandhi

PARTIES AND PERSONALITIES

on the Communist theories of Pandit Nehru indicate that opinion against this creed may yet be potently developed ; and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the editor of the Allahabad *Leader*, who freely attacks the Congress policy in a newspaper which exerts a moderating influence in the general current of Indian politics. Standing outside the party is Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the distinguished lawyer, who has worked hard for Indian Nationalism within the Liberal idea, but who has neither the inclination nor the flair to assume active leadership.

The disinclination on the part of moderate leaders to form opposing parties to the Congress Party is viewed by competent observers as a weakness in Indian politics. Recent developments have shown that the party has many weaknesses in its armour. The creation of the Congress Nationalist Party tended to prove this. Congress Nationalists were formed to oppose the Communal Award. On this question the main organization was unwilling to define its attitude, and the Congress Nationalists came into being to voice complete hostility to the award. The minor party became so effective that the main party was forced to recognize its views and influence. Several Congress Nationalists were elected to the Central Legislature, and although they were allied with the Congress Party on general policy in various respects they took an independent line. Similarly, the Hindu Mahasabha (orthodox hierarchy) does not see eye to eye with the main Congress Party and does not hesitate to put candidates in the field against their extremer co-religionists.

But the main cleavage in the country lies between the Moslems and the Hindu elements, which are the principal constituents of the other parties. As the Simon Report pointed out, it would be an utter misapprehension to suppose that Hindu-Moslem antagonism is analogous to the separation between the religious communities in contemporary Europe. Differences of race, a different system of law, and the absence of inter-marriage constitute a far more effective barrier. It is a basic opposition manifesting itself at every turn in social custom and economic competition, as well as in mutual religious antipathy. Notwithstanding the efforts of men of good will in both communities, the rivalry and dissension between the two communities are among the chief stumbling-blocks to smoother and more rapid constitutional development.

all-India polity. The policy of the All-India Moslem League seeks to secure full responsible government for India, with adequate and effective safeguards for Moslems ; to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights of Moslems ; to promote friendship and unions between Moslems and other communities in India ; and to maintain and strengthen the relations between the Moslems of India and those of other countries. Under these general headings the Moslem League's Parliamentary Board has been organized to play its political part in the constitutional programme. For a while it appeared possible that this board would absorb various other Moslem interests and work as a cohesive unit representing all the Moslems in the country. But it has had serious defections from its ranks, many of the lesser leaders being unwilling to follow the leadership of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah is an astute politician and an adroit parliamentarian, but he does not command the full confidence of the more orthodox members of the community. The Parliamentary Board will work the new Constitution to extract the maximum benefit from it, but contends that the federal scheme of Central Government is fundamentally bad and opposes it. The party accepts the Communal Award until a substitute is agreed upon between the communities concerned. This brings it into conflict with the Congress Party, and particularly the Congress Nationalists, who oppose the Award. In effect, the Hindu Nationalists claim that no Constitution based on the Communal Award is a genuine Nationalist settlement ; the Moslems maintain that any agreement which excludes the Communal Award is unacceptable to them.

This Moslem attitude colours the policies and affects the actions of all other Moslem political bodies. There is some homogeneity in the Punjab, where the Unionist Party established by the late Sir Fazli Husain holds the chief place among Provincial Moslem organizations. But the majority of the Moslem parties are sectional, governed in many cases by Moslems holding religious views peculiar to various aspects of the Moslem faith. As a whole the Moslems lack the political unity that marks the Hindu organizations and have nothing of the cohesion that characterizes the Congress Party, which has contributed in no small measure to the return of so many of its candidates at the General Election now concluded.

THE PRINCES AND FEDERATION

BY SIR WILLIAM BARTON

FOR nearly a hundred years after the British had established their supremacy in India autocracy had lived a peaceful existence under the shadow of the British military protectorate, immune from internal or external molestation. It was not till the early years of the twentieth century that storm clouds gathering on the political horizon disturbed the tranquillity of Indian India. The political intelligentsia was rapidly developing influence; after the War it seemed that there was no obstacle in the way to responsible government. Indian politicians had used their new powers from 1921 onwards in introducing a policy of protective tariffs without regard to the interests of the States. British India took from them through the sea-customs some ten millions sterling annually.

Another ground of anxiety was the encroachment by the paramount power on their rights and privileges under treaty in the interests of British India. The danger from this source was greater under the new semi-responsible government. There were two Indian Ministers in the Government of India: Indian lawyers held the view that constitutionally paramountcy vested in the Indian Government and not in the Crown. If this interpretation were accepted Indian rulers might in a short time find themselves under the control of the Indian politician. That would mean extinction unless they could combine and meet the politician on his own ground.

These anxieties of the Princes as to the future led directly to their association with political India in drawing up a new scheme of government for India as a whole. The British Government was not unsympathetic. The Princes in the War had shown their solidarity with the Empire; they spoke for 80,000,000 people, nearly a fourth of the population of India; their rule was in most cases based on ancient traditions of kingship tried out for over 2,000 years, acceptable at least to the majority of their subjects. In the event of war the

Empire could count not only on the 40,000 regular troops maintained by the Princes ; the whole of their resources would be at its disposal. Their claim to a voice in the political future of India could hardly be challenged.

The Chamber of Princes instituted in 1921 had given the Princes an opportunity of taking counsel together and of discussing their problems with the Viceroy as representative of the paramount Power. They wanted more than this. They felt it essential that the Crown should assert its rights as against the Indian politician ; at the same time the limits of paramountcy should be defined and their treaty rights restored where these had been infringed. And over and above all this they claimed a voice in the destinies of India.

The first question has been settled in their favour ; it is now clearly understood that the prerogatives of paramountcy vest in the Crown. As regards the second, the attempt to put the political department in a strait-jacket has not progressed to any extent. The demand for recognition in the polity of India was met by an invitation to the Round-Table Conference. This was accepted.

The Conference met in a troubled atmosphere. Congress was exploiting the mystic appeal of Gandhi to the masses in a widespread attack on law and order which the Government of India were reluctant to meet with force : the British Labour Government was an uncertain element. In the circumstances the Princes felt that the wisest course was to stand forth as sponsors of a unified Federal Government of India, which they might strengthen by their cooperation. With this end in view they insisted on responsible government at the Centre, influenced apparently by the fact that in surrendering power in Federal matters to a responsible government they would in fact be surrendering such powers to themselves, since they would share in exercising them.

The Princes have throughout insisted on the maintenance of the British connexion and its corollary, the military protectorate. This meant the reservation of defence in the hands of the Viceroy. They stipulated further that there should be no interference in their internal affairs. Federal taxation in the States should be indirect : they must have an adequate influence on railway policy, currency, the Reserve Bank. And as an essential preliminary to the inauguration of a Federal Government both central and provincial finance must have reached a position of stable equilibrium. Most of the States were

free from budgetary difficulties : they had no intention of bringing financial embarrassment on themselves for the benefit of British India.

States Ministers played an important part in the protracted negotiations at succeeding sessions of the Round-Table Conference and before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Despite their efforts, however, the India Bill as it emerged from the draftsman's hand in 1935 attracted severe criticism from the Princes. It was held that section 6 as it originally stood would have applied the Act to the States, with what might have been disastrous consequences. The Princes insisted that accession must be by separate treaty, the Act only applying to the Federal sphere as defined in the instrument of accession. The section was recast so as to meet their wishes. Counsel, briefed and instructed mainly from Hyderabad, watched the passage of the Bill through Parliament. As a result it was improved in many respects from the States' point of view.

The Act secures to the Princes a powerful voice in the Federal Legislature. Though their subjects number less than a fourth of the population of India they are given a third of the seats in the House of Assembly, 125 out of 375, and 104 out of 250 in the Upper House or Council of State. The powers of the two Houses cover much the same field. When they differ the Governor-General may convene a joint session, in which case the Princes would command 36 per cent. of the voting strength of the combined Chambers. All they need to exert a powerful influence on the future policy of India is unity. They would always find allies among non-Congress elements and so form a bloc strong enough to check disruptive tendencies.

The distribution of these 229 seats among 600 odd States has been a matter of considerable difficulty ; not everyone is pleased. The principle adopted was to allocate seats roughly on the basis of population in the Lower House ; in the Upper House account was taken of the dynastic salute and other factors. The effect is to give the smaller States the majority of seats in the Council of State. In the Lower House the seventeen more important States have sixty seats ; in the Upper House forty-three only ; it follows that the smaller States have greater voting power than the larger, although the latter represent nearly two-thirds of the total population of the States. The smaller States, it may be noted, are generally more conservative than the larger.

A year and eight months have passed since the Act became law. Provincial autonomy is to be established forthwith ; the British

Government hope to inaugurate Federation at the same time in the ensuing year. A condition precedent is that there should be an accession of rulers entitled to at least half the seats assigned to the States in the Council of State—namely, fifty-two—and whose territories contain at least half the population of the States. Acceding Princes will be entitled to nominate to one-half of the unfilled seats.

Will the Princes accede? That is the question of the hour in India. There is no doubt that the first enthusiasm has died down. World events have discredited democracy with many of the Princes; the attitude of the Indian politician is a still stronger deterrent. Even the Moderates would prefer to leave the Princes in their political isolation. Safeguards, they declare, have reduced responsibility to a shadow; they exist purely for the benefit of the Princes. Congress, the strongest party, expresses its intention of wrecking the reforms; it is attempting to exploit the discontent of the Princes in the hope that they may refuse adherence to Federation and so stifle the Act.

The main difficulties of the Princes are concerned with finance, the extent of Federal penetration in their territories, railway policy, and the Reserve Bank. There are naturally other questions peculiar to individual States, such as the remission of the subsidy in Mysore, retrocession of railway jurisdiction, and so forth. Finance is the most complex of the outstanding problems. Unless the Federal Budget is reasonably stable at the outset the States might be compelled to make indefinite contributions to maintain equilibrium. It is the general wish that such contributions should be reserved for emergencies—war, for example. The question is closely associated with the claims of the provinces to share in the income-tax. These claims should, the States think, be ignored until the financial stability of the Federation is absolutely assured. Subventions to the deficit provinces should not affect the budgetary position to the prejudice of the States. A relevant fact in this connexion is the expensiveness of British India administration compared with equally efficient administration in the leading States.

As regards railway policy the Princes feel that their interests have been too frequently overridden in the past in favour of British India. They expect to have adequate representation on the Railway Board, so as to be able to influence policy in future. The position is much the same as regards the Reserve Bank. So far the Indian Legislature has succeeded in excluding States' representatives from the Board.

The question of paramountcy has receded into the background. A few of the Princes were disposed to press for a definition of its sphere as a preliminary to federation, but they failed to obtain the support of the leading States. The feeling seems to be that an attempt to define the rights and obligations of the Crown might weaken its influence to the detriment of the Princes themselves. On the other hand, as regards justiciable matters arising between the States and British India it is felt that an impartial tribunal might relieve the Viceroy of responsibility. Paramountcy should not enter the federal field ; conversely treaties should remain outside the Federal Court. Much will, it is suggested, depend on the attitude of political officers as regards methods of dealing with the States when problems arise from the treaties.

A criticism of paramountcy comes from a different quarter. To politicians of the less extreme type paramountcy casts a shadow over the political future of India. The influence of the Crown might be used to compel the Princes to act together in the Legislature in order to promote British interests. This school of thought would "constitutionalize" paramountcy. The British Government, however, have made it clear that they regard paramountcy as a question apart from Federation.

The danger of disunity arising from personal jealousies and rivalries led a group of Princes soon after the first Round Table Conference to put forward a scheme for a confederation of States as a preliminary to federation. This was supported by some of the leading Princes, including the late Jam of Nawanagar and the Maharajah of Patiala. The idea was to promote joint action. The project is sponsored now by several of the minor princes, the Maharajahs of Dholpur, Dewas, and Panna. It has not attracted much support. At the same time a regional grouping of the smaller States which share members would help to protect their interests. For the Princes as a whole it seems likely that some form of a Parliamentary Committee of Ministers will be evolved, possibly on the lines of the informal Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari, which has been working since 1934. It would settle policy, and endeavour to ensure joint action. It would be constituted on a regional basis. The Chamber of Princes has proved ineffective of late, due to some extent to the lack of support of the great States and to personal rivalries. There is a general desire that it should be reorganized.

How will the great State of Hyderabad adjust itself to a new political life? Heir of the Moguls, autocracy is bred in the bones of the Asafjahi dynasty of the Nizams. Nevertheless, the administration is organized on modern lines and is mainly in the hands of an efficient executive council. The loyalty of the Nizam during the War years helped to keep the Moslems of India loyal; a Moslem rising might have jeopardized British rule. His Exalted Highness is not interested in Indian politics; from his own choice he would not have changed the present system. It is all the more to his credit that his Government should have played a leading part, through his able minister, Sir Akbar Hydari, in the proceedings of the Round Table Conference in London and later in India. Hyderabad support has been of inestimable value. Had the Nizam stood aloof it is doubtful whether there would have been a federation at all. On the basis of population Hyderabad should have had forty-seven out of 229 States members; actually it is given nineteen only. Five more would have contented it; had this been conceded less insistence might have been placed on reservations.

His Exalted Highness, the British Government, and Sir Akbar Hydari are to be congratulated that the vexed question of the Berars has been settled in a way that not only adds to the prestige and dignity of the ruling house but preserves the traditional association of the province with Hyderabad. The political movement in India owes its impetus mainly to the Hindu *intelligentsia*; the vast majority of the Nizam's subjects are Hindu; the political sympathies of the educated Hindu of Hyderabad are undoubtedly with his co-religionists in British India. This introduces a dangerous element into the situation. The Nizam's Government are endeavouring to meet it by giving the country an honest and efficient Civil Service and a reliable judiciary.

Hyderabad will almost certainly lead the way into federation. Before it accedes, however, there are certain questions that demand settlement. Of these one relates to jurisdiction over the Hyderabad railways. Then there is the question of the port of Masulipatam, which by treaty of 1802 is a free port for the Nizam. The Nizam is waiving his right to an annual payment on account of territory ceded for the maintenance of a British force in his State, since he desires that the force should remain in his dominions.

Mysore stands next to Hyderabad in population and importance. Its political problems are less insistent; it is a homogeneous Hindu



The Nizam of Hyderabad



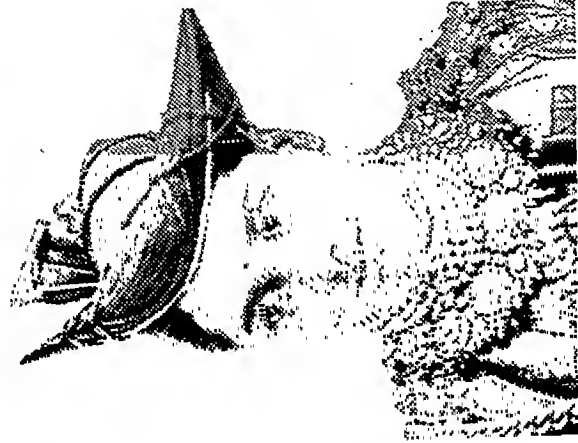
The Maharajah of Mysore



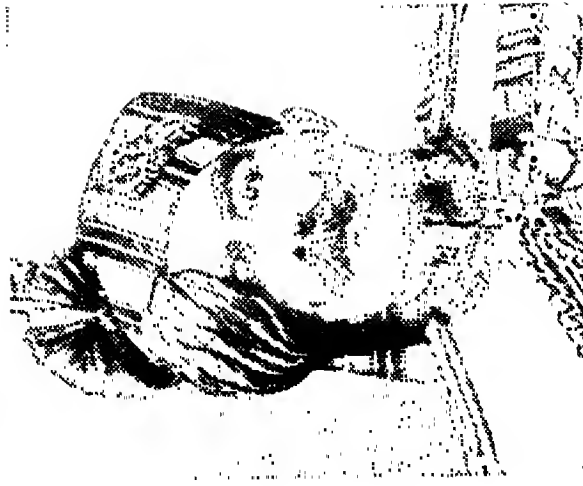
The Maharajah Gackwar of Baroda



The Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir



The Maharajah of Gwalior



The Maharajah of Bikaner

State ; the ambitions of its educated classes have been to a considerable extent satisfied by a partially responsible system of Government resembling dyarchy. The Maharajah is one of the ablest and most experienced statesmen in India. Few rulers hold the loyalty of their subjects more firmly. The administration has been for more than a decade in the able hands of Sir Mirza Ismail, a cultured Moslem of Persian extraction, who made a great reputation for himself at the Round Table Conference. The subsidy of £185,000 paid to the Indian Government is an incubus on the finances of the State and is hard to justify in view of the fact that Mysore has been paying for years nearly three-quarters of a million sterling in Customs duties imposed by the Indian Legislative Assembly. The Mysore Government claims its immediate abolition. The Act provides for this by stages, but the process would take nearly twenty years. It is hoped that it will be possible for the British Government to accede to the wishes of Mysore at an early date. They have never wavered in their support of the federal idea. Ten members are assigned to them ; they feel that they are underrepresented. They will unquestionably accede if some reasonable compromise on outstanding questions is effected.

Travancore, like Mysore, has its political *intelligentsia* and a similar Constitution. Of the population of over 5,000,000, 1,500,000 are Christians. The standard of literacy is the highest in India. Despite this the State is a stronghold of Hindu orthodoxy : the Nayar class, to which the Maharajah belongs, is still politically dominant. The Maharajah has lately performed a courageous act of statesmanship in throwing open 1,000 State temples to the Untouchables. His Government have throughout supported the federal principle. There have been complicated questions relating to sea customs and the salt tax, but it is believed that these have been satisfactorily settled.

Farther north the group of States representing the Maratha confederacy of two centuries ago stand first in importance—Kolhapur, Baroda, Indore, Gwalior. Kolhapur is comparatively small ; it owes its importance to the fact that its dynasty claims direct descent from Shivaji, founder of the confederacy, and that it is the rallying point of the Marathas of the South.

The Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda stands next to the Nizam in order of precedence. The idea of a politically unified India has long appealed to him. His chief Minister, Sir Krishnama Chari, has been prominent at the recent political conferences. The administration affords a good example of what can be done by a benevolent

autocracy. The Gackwar is not likely to make any difficulties about accession. The question of customs levied at Baroda seaports in Kathiawar has been settled; another question concerns the Baroda tributary States surrounding the main block of State territory. These States, some sixty or seventy in number, are very small, with few of the attributes of sovereignty. The administration is mainly in the hands of British political officers. The State now claims that actual control should be substituted for nominal suzerainty subject to reasonable guarantees. It is stated that the Baroda Government is prepared to remit the tribute and there is reason to suppose that these petty States might ultimately benefit from the change.

Gwalior and Indore will, like Baroda, doubtless be prepared to throw in their lot with British India. There are few, if any, complications of importance. The Maharajah of Gwalior may have to give special representation to his Rajput feudatories. He has only recently been invested with full powers; with the advice of a strong council he should be equal to the problems before him. There seems every reason to suppose that he will follow in the footsteps of his father, one of the best and ablest rulers of his generation.

Though his State is comparatively small the Nawab of Bhopal, by dint of ability and character and by his knowledge of Indian politics, has played a prominent part in the Chamber of Princes and throughout the controversies of the last six years. He, with the Maharajahs of Patiala and Bikaner, have been most insistent in the campaign against what they consider the exaggerated claims of paramountcy. He was among the leading Princes who sponsored Federation at the outset. Now that it has taken shape he is not particularly enamoured of it; but at the same time he is not likely to forget his pledge.

The Maharajah of Patiala was an outstanding figure at the first Round Table Conference and a leading protagonist of a federal India. He has since been accused of inconsistency. He was, it is true, at one time inclined to support a scheme of confederation; he was a strong critic of the Bill; also of the Indian politician and his theories. Judging from his present attitude he will make no difficulty about entering the federation if outstanding questions are satisfactorily settled. As ruler of a big Sikh State, the political centre of gravity of 4,500,000 Sikhs in the Punjab, his support will count for much in the new Government.

The vast majority of the States are Hindu. Moslems, in fact, have only thirty-six members with a share in two or three others, out of 229. Of the Hindus, Rajputs, the ancient military caste, are most numerous ; they command roughly ninety members of the States quota. The bulk of these Rajput States are small ; most of them share a member, a system which means a weakening of control, except where the co-sharers act in unison, which will not always be the case. These Rajput States are very widely diffused, extending from the southern plateau to the western Himalayas. Big Rajput States like Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Rewa compare favourably with the best administered States : in the smaller and more remote States the administration is patriarchal. One can imagine the mental confusion of an old Rajput chief in a remote Himalayan State when called on to study the Constitution Act and decide whether to accede to the federation. His first instinct would be to consult the political authorities. Some are briefing Indian lawyers. The result may be that the lawyer politician from British India will find a new field for his activities in these small States with their thirty-five shared seats. Many of the small Chiefs are afraid of being absorbed by the bigger States.

The Maharajah of Bikaner was largely responsible for the acceptance by the Princes of the federal principle. Rajput Chiefs generally are not, however, in the least interested in Indian politics. Why, for example, should Udaipur, remote from Delhi, Udaipur whose ancestors defied the Mogul, who claims to be the first Prince in India, interest himself in a newly fledged democracy of the middle classes ? The Rajput feudal baron crossing swords in the Council of State with the lawyer politician from Bengal should relieve the monotony of the proceedings.

Kashmir is not Rajput in political texture though its Ruler is a Dogra-Rajput. The State has its own problems. The people are chiefly Moslem ; their hatred of the Hindu official led to serious communal trouble three or four years ago, which was aggravated by the invasion of Kashmir by bands of unarmed Moslems from the Punjab known as *jathas*, an unpleasant warning of what might happen in future. British troops had to be called in to suppress the disorders. These events were followed by the institution of a Council with an unofficial majority and a closer association of Moslems in the administration.

There are no insuperable difficulties in the way of Federation. Despite the apprehension caused by subversive movements in British India the leading Princes are prepared to carry out their pledges. Their chief concern is the maintenance of the British connexion ; it is beyond question that the situation would clear rapidly if British Indian politicians would display a readiness to work in partnership with Britain. The safeguards provided in the Act should, if properly worked, give the Princes adequate protection provided they stand together. They should be represented in the Federal Ministry : a strong group of States members in alliance with non-Congress elements should be able to secure the adoption of a sound economic policy and so ensure a balanced budget. They are taking risks in allying themselves with an untried democracy ; if only they work together the result should be an India stronger, more prosperous, and happier than at any period of her chequered history.

POLITICS IN THE PROVINCES

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA

THE creation of Federation is almost certain to see a concentration of attention on all-India politics, but for the present political interest in the country is chiefly centred in provincial affairs. Virtually all the practical questions of social and economic reform which affect the daily lives of the people come within the sphere of provincial administrations. This fact was emphasized in the recent provincial elections, in which the realities of provincial affairs were brought to the fore.

The Congress Party endeavours to give an all-India incidence to its activities, but even these have been reoriented in recent months by the attention that has been given to provincial politics. In every province political groups of various kinds have arisen, have developed or died ; but whatever their fate has been these tentative party formations have indicated that there is a diversity of opinion on many of the principal political issues of the day and a variety of views on the social and economic problems of the time. Many of the provincial political groups which have lately been formed are based on social and economic policies, many are founded on caste and communalism, and not a few derive their impetus from individuals and personalities.

The Central Legislature in Delhi has never excited provincial electorates to the same extent as have their own provincial councils. The more academic aspects of constitutional affairs have been left to those political and intellectual leaders who control the Nationalist or larger movements ; but in the provinces the average voter is directly affected by those matters which concern his daily routine—agriculture, public health, rural reconstruction, local government, and those kindred subjects which are in provincial control. While local rivalries frequently prevent effective party organization, personalities in the provinces count for much. The Congress Party, with its command of large funds, is able to reach the voter in a manner

denied less affluent groups, and the provincial voter is consequently not unaffected by the Nationalist theories. But the reality of provincial politics has been a feature of Indian experience since 1919 and is likely to be intensified under the new scheme.

The eleven main divisions of India which are defined as Governors' Provinces comprise nearly the whole of British India. Madras may be divided into several areas according to the predominance of particular languages, but the social cleavages are of no less importance than the linguistic, as they have already exercised a profound influence on the political situation and the grouping of parties. In Madras the Congress Party has now a popular following. The defeat of the Justice Party in the 1934 elections for the Central Legislature was a feature of those elections, and since then the party has been improving its organization. It was originally formed with the object of fighting the predominance of Brahmmins in the political life of the Presidency, although the cleavage was not solely sectarian. When the 1919 reforms were introduced the non-Brahmins were prepared to work the Constitution, and did so with notable success. In all the political fluctuations which have occurred since that first Ministry the Justice Party has played a significant part in the political life of the province.

Lord Erskine, the Governor, has consistently indicated the need for enabling the new Constitution to be introduced in a fair environment. When the financial adjustments necessary to the reforms were outlined by Sir Otto Niemeyer the Madras Government contended that too much importance had been attached to the existing budgetary positions of the provinces; the view was expressed that budgetary positions as they might have been had deficit provinces consistently followed sounder financial principles had been overlooked. In the opinion of the Madras Government their comparatively sound financial position was due, not to the intrinsic superiority of the natural resources of the province, but to prudent administration and adequate taxation.

In Bombay the principal political parties are the Congress Party, the Democratic Swarajists, and the Moslem League. The Congress Party is very strong, although there have recently been signs that certain influential sections of opinion are disquieted by the Socialist tendencies of the organization. But in Gujerat, the stronghold of Mr. Gandhi and other political leaders, the party exerts great influence.

The Democratic Swarajists with their opposition to the Communal Award have made an impression recently in that Mahratta area



In the Chandni Chauk ("silver street"), the famous street in Delhi, centre of the jewellers and ivory-workers

POLITICS IN THE PROVINCES

where their organization is most effective. The Moslem League is imbued with Nationalist tendencies.

Bombay is peculiarly fortunate in its Governor, Lord Brabourne, who has won merited praise for his administrative skill, his sympathetic attitude towards the reforms and all political leaders, and his flair in evolving the democratic idea in relation to Indian conditions. The Government has done notable pioneering work in dealing with industrial problems, and this work has been intensified since Lord Brabourne became Governor. The problems of industry will continue to be an important feature of Bombay life under provincial autonomy, but the basis has been laid for dealing with the greater difficulties which may arise.

The financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments under the new Act predicate no possibility of a reduction in Central expenditure or taxation unless the economic position improves. Sir Otto Niemeyer proposed that the Centre should retain during the first five years of provincial autonomy the entire proceeds of income-tax, and during the second five years retain half and distribute the other half between the provinces. In this ultimate distribution Bombay will share to the extent of 20%. Barring this postponed relief the province will get no relief financially except a saving of Rs.45 lakhs as a result of the separation of Sind.

In Bengal Sir John Anderson, the Governor, has had his period of office extended to enable him to supervise the introduction of the expanded Provincial Autonomy. This decision secured the approval of all sections of the people. Under his governorship the menace of terrorism has been tackled along new lines, and while it is likely to remain a problem of deep concern to the authorities Sir John Anderson has shown that a reorientation of ideas in regard to its treatment has had its effects. Racially and linguistically Bengal is more homogeneous than the other great areas of India, but the province is bitterly divided politically. While Moslems are in a small majority the Hindus of the province claim that they have contributed most to its economic and cultural development.

The most influential Hindu group is the Congress Nationalist Party, which is violently opposed to the Communal Award, particularly those sections of it which Mr. Gandhi modified during his "fast unto death." Those modifications tended to lessen the value of the representation secured by Hindus under the original award.

Efforts have been made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to harmonize the differences which exist between the Congress Party and its Nationalist offshoot, but dissatisfaction remains. The Nationalists would like the Congress Party to launch a full-fledged campaign against the award, but the main party hesitates to do so since such action would widen the breach already existing between Hindus and Moslems. The Moslems of the province are somewhat loosely organized, and their dissensions have enabled the Congress Party to return the largest single group to the Legislature. Communal tension has, however, been lessened to some extent by an agreement between some Hindu and Moslem leaders to share offices equally in the new Ministry.

In the Punjab the financial omens are reasonably favourable to the introduction of the reforms. Like the other provinces the Punjab Government was disappointed with the financial settlement of Sir Otto Niemeyer, and the province must rely largely on its own resources for the early years of the reforms. The spirit of progress which has characterized the province under Sir Herbert Emerson's governorship has been largely traceable to official stimulus. Much significant work has been done in the consolidation of holdings, the distribution of good seed, the improvement of cattle, and the development of rural amenities. The future Government will find an absorbing task in giving a clear lead to a people anxious to go ahead.

Politically the Punjab presents a complicated problem. The Congress Party is weak and fared badly in the recent General Election. Under the aegis of the late Sir Fazli Husain the Unionist Party was moulded into a homogeneous body, appealing to the majority of Moslems, and it has done well in the elections and will form a Ministry. It has a comprehensive social and economic programme. But there are a number of Moslem groups which foster sectional policies. The Congress Nationalists and the Hindu Mahasabha are also represented, while the Sikhs have at least three separate groups, all of which are pledged to oppose the Communal Award.

In the United Provinces the Congress Party is in a much stronger position. Its main opposition is the Agriculturist Party, which is said to have the support of prominent *zemindars*; in the past this class has shown little skill in effective organization. But the fact that the party represents agricultural interests suggests that it may wield an important influence. In agriculture the province has passed

beyond the stage of research to that of demonstration, and the results of research are being brought home to the cultivators. It is generally conceded that rural reconstruction in the area is laying the foundations of a new life in the villages and advancing the happiness, intelligence, and prosperity of the people. Sir Harry Haig, the Governor, has taken special interest in this work ; under his guidance the policy of the Government has been to increase the stability of tenure of the tenant, to ensure that he obtains a proper share in the increase of agricultural wealth. Industrial activity has also been intensified.

The announcement of the appointment of Mr. (now Sir Maurice) Hallett as Governor of Bihar was hailed with satisfaction there, both by official and non-official elements. His wide administrative experience with the Government of India coupled with his long period of service in the province is viewed as fitting him admirably for the tasks ahead. The province has for some years been struggling against the weight of a falling revenue, and since 1934 the authorities have been handicapped by the expense of repairing the damage done by the earthquake. In spite of these financial difficulties it has been administered with the strictest financial integrity and can look forward to a brighter future when it receives its due share of income-tax from Central Revenues. Sir James Sifton, the retiring Governor, recognized that Provincial Autonomy carried with it actual responsibility for provincial finances, and he directed his policy accordingly.

The Congress Party was shown by the elections to be strong in Bihar, having in Mr. Rajendra Prasad a leader who is widely respected. The other Hindu political groups are largely sectional, being based on caste affiliations in the main. Nor are non-Congress elements wholly harmonized, although leaders who have been Ministers in the past are likely to secure greater unity in the future. Congress in power will have right wing tendencies, as many of the leading Congressmen of the province are sceptical of the Socialist theories expounded by extremer members of the party.

The Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, under Sir Hyde Gowan, believes that with the policy of rigid economy which has hitherto been pursued it will be possible to inaugurate the reforms with at least a balanced Budget, and with a reasonable prospect of developing departmental activities when a full share of

the Central income-tax is distributed to the province. A combination of adverse circumstances has led to a substantial contraction of resources in recent years. Notwithstanding this the Central Provinces was the only administration which accepted the financial settlement for the reforms without much protest. This factor indicates the independence and stability the administration has achieved, even though the Government will be forced to explore additional sources of revenue to be able to foster measures of development. Politically the Congress Party is strong.

The North-West Frontier Province had to wait until 1931 before sharing in the earlier reforms, and this important stage of its constitutional progress was inaugurated by Sir Ralph Griffith, who has just relinquished office. When the reforms were introduced the Governor indicated that he and his officers would do everything possible to make the reforms a success, and the claim has been substantially fulfilled. Various beneficent activities have been fostered in a territory whose elements only a few years ago preferred the bullet to the ballot in settling disputes. It is anticipated that the new Governor, Sir George Cunningham, will interpret his work with a liberal and sympathetic mind. He has a wide knowledge of frontier conditions, which is amplified by experience gained as Private Secretary to a former Viceroy, Lord Halifax. Politically the chief party in the province is the Khudai Khidmatgars (Servants of God), led by Abdul Khaffar Khan. This body is loosely affiliated with the Congress Party, and consists of extreme elements whose activities in the past have been of great embarrassment to the Government in an area where little is needed to start a blaze involving the tribes on both sides of the border. More moderate elements find political association under the leadership of prominent khans.

Under the Reforms of 1919 Assam was raised to the status of a Governor's Province, and was thereby ranked to suit its undeveloped character with the older provinces. It has been universally recognized as a deficit province, and Sir Otto Niemeyer recommended special financial assistance. Notwithstanding this assistance the Government, headed by Sir Michael Keene, the Governor, indicated in replying to Sir Otto Niemeyer's proposals that there will be no margin for some years to come for the expansion and improvement of the administration in a territory which is the least developed of the provinces. Especially was it regretted that it will be impossible to establish a university, without which the Government cannot control the educational

system, and an agricultural institute to explore the agricultural needs of the province. Sir Robert Reid is the Governor who is to guide the reformed administration.

The new Province of Orissa, like that of Sind, is still in a state of flux. Here, as in Bihar, the Congress Party has obtained a majority. The first Budget was based mainly on known sources of revenue and expenditure, together with fresh heads necessitated by the creation of the province. New schemes of development were left out of account until the province was in a position to pay for them ; so there will be little scope for immediate improvements in education, agriculture, and public health. But it is anticipated that Sir John Hubback, the Governor, with an administrative experience that has been actively associated with the people of Orissa, will evolve a stable administration, especially if the present financial stringency is alleviated.

Sind as a compact linguistic unit was considered as a province within a province even before its separation. Small in wealth and population, the great promise for the future lies in the Sukkur Barrage, which dams the Indus at a point some 400 miles from the sea. With canals in some instances broader than the Suez, this scheme has brought great desert areas under cultivation. Sir Lancelot Graham, the first Governor, has had a long experience in administration in Bombay and with the Government of India, and, while his Government regretted some of the decisions of the Niemeyer Report, there are indications that the Sukkur works will in due course be of immense benefit to the province, where political alignments are still in the tentative stage.

INDIA AT THE POLLS

BY SIR LAURIE HAMMOND

THE electorate in the various provinces of India is estimated to amount to some 35,000,000. In recent weeks nearly 2,000 members have been elected to the Legislature.* It has also to be remembered that in India, as distinct from Burma, the large majority of the voters are illiterate and inexperienced, many of them having just exercised their right to vote for the first time.

The actual system of recording votes varies in the different provinces. In Bombay Presidency and in the Punjab the voter places a cross on a ballot paper containing the names of the candidates. In the former province each candidate is given a symbol and by his name on the ballot paper is a small reproduction of the same to facilitate recognition by the elector. The symbol may be a cart, umbrella, elephant, or other familiar object.

In other provinces the voter is given a ballot paper, or, if it is a multi-member constituency, as many ballot papers as there are seats to be filled. These he can either distribute or plump them all in one box. It is held that "plumping" ensures minority representation. In the Madras Presidency candidates have coloured boxes, white, red, yellow, blue, or green, or any combination of two or more of these colours. In Bengal and Assam candidates have been identified by a symbol placed on the ballot-box—a boat, cart, a plough, and so on.

When the ballot paper has to be marked the presiding officer has to assist many of the illiterate voters, and both in the United Provinces and the Punjab he is expected to show the agents of the candidates present in the polling station that he has marked the paper as requested by the elector. Mistrust of the presiding officer, it would seem, has to override all considerations of secrecy. But the latter is not assured, even where the coloured box system is in vogue,

* *The Times* India Number was published on March 23, 1937.

INDIA AT THE POLLS

since it was early recognized in Indian elections that the best way to make sure that an elector's vote went into the right box was for the elector merely to pretend to deposit his ballot paper. Actually he palmed it, brought it out with him, and cases have been reported when ballot papers towards the close of a keenly contested poll have been auctioned. Hence it is considered necessary to post an officer inside the polling booth to see that votes are actually deposited, a practice approved by an Indian Election Tribunal. In the Corrupt Practices Order, 1936, there is a provision that "the removal of a voting paper or voting token from the polling station during polling hours by any person with the connivance of a candidate or his agent" is a corrupt practice which will avoid the election.

While every endeavour is made to limit the radius of a polling station to some five or six miles, there are many rural constituencies where the voters, male and female, will have to travel long distances. Hence candidates are allowed to hire conveyances and also indulge in "customary hospitality," though they must include in their declaration of election expenses all the money they spent on this account. In Madras there is to be a limit of total expenditure, Rs. 1,000 when the number of registered electors is 8,000 or less, and two annas (twopence) for every registered elector over that number. In other provinces a maximum has to be fixed after the ensuing election, either by an Act of Legislature or by Rules.

Let us examine the arrangements that had to be made to poll one district, admittedly a large one—Mymensingh in Bengal. The constituencies are framed as follows:—

General Rural (Hindu).

	POPULATION	VOTERS
MYMENSINGH EAST	559,799	69,794
Including scheduled castes	233,262	28,411
Area in square miles, 2,837·8		
MYMENSINGH WEST	558,064	79,489
Scheduled castes	241,933	28,917
Area in square miles, 3,354·4		

THE NEW INDIA

Each constituency returns two members, one seat in each being reserved for a scheduled caste representative.

Muhammadan Rural

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	POPULA- TION	VOTERS
Jamalpur East	419	216,487	19,955
Jamalpur North "	406	265,550	26,542
Jamalpur West	243	193,974	21,592
Jamalpur Muktagacha	329	243,624	19,550
Mymensingh North.. ..	537	323,100	28,890
Mymensingh East	328	312,428	32,762
Mymensingh South	306	178,805	19,406
Mymensingh West	276	191,061	17,838
Tangail South	417	245,973	29,494
Tangail West	332	233,718	28,398
Tangail North	514	294,251	37,101
Netrakona South	496	260,809	28,598
Netrakona North	651	268,801	23,561
Kishorganj South	199	216,480	24,385
Kishorganj North	403	248,556	23,849
Kishorganj East	381	233,935	45,400

There are, therefore, in this one district covering an area of over 6,000 square miles no fewer than eighteen constituencies. Each constituency will need from five to ten polling stations. Remembering that under present conditions in India the services of non-officials are mistrusted by the electorate, the recording of votes will be an extremely difficult task requiring the best efforts even of services which have specialized in organization.

The first election was in the general rural constituencies to select candidates to stand at the ensuing election as representing the "scheduled castes," i.e., the lower Hindu castes, those whom Mr. Gandhi calls the "Harijans." This primary election is the result of what is known as the "Poona Pact," when the Mahatma only agreed to terminate a fast on certain conditions designed to give

INDIA AT THE POLLS

the lower castes their own representatives, but equally designed to retain them in the Hindu fold and to give both high caste and low caste Hindus the right to vote for both seats at the final election.

Some few weeks therefore before the general election in each polling station there was, for Harijans only, a dress rehearsal of the subsequent election. The presiding officer and polling clerks went on tour carrying with them the electoral registers and all the paraphernalia of the polling booth. At each polling station it was presumed there would be one or more agents of each candidate to help in identification or to expose personation. Four candidates had to be chosen to stand for the seat reserved for the scheduled castes at the coming election. If only four or less were nominated there would be no election. In some places a multiplicity of candidates was feared ; but in most provinces it was expected that in the first election at any rate it might be difficult to get from those castes a sufficient number of candidates.

The local school or police station serves the purpose of a polling booth, a portion with a separate entrance and exit being screened off for women voters. The voters go into a room, receive the ballot paper duly stamped by the presiding officer, and thence enter the polling booth and place it in the box carrying the symbol of the candidate of their choice.

The next day the votes are counted and eventually from all the polling stations the result of this preliminary election is declared. A petition can be filed by the unsuccessful candidate on grounds of corruption, intimidation, or failure to comply with the regulations. Such a petition is decided after summary inquiry by the District Magistrate or some magistrate deputed by him, and the candidates finally declared elected will then stand together with caste Hindu candidates at the final election, retaining for the purpose the same symbols and the same election agents.

At the final election therefore to fill two seats in each constituency (one in each being reserved for a scheduled caste candidate) there might be four "Harijan" candidates and four or more caste candidates. Now the system of voting by which each voter gets two ballot papers which he can, if he wishes, give to one candidate, *should* make it imperative for a high caste and low caste candidate

to combine, both when canvassing and at the election. It is possible, and indeed probable, that in some districts in Bengal both seats are being held by scheduled caste candidates where the latter belong to the majority of the electorate. It is also possible that "withdrawals" of candidature may become a prominent and undesirable feature of the interval between the primary and final elections.

While it is always uncertain how many electors will take the trouble to vote, there seems to be no doubt but that, with the limited number of polling stations and staff that can be provided, it might, in a keenly contested election, be difficult for all voters to vote. The Franchise Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Lothian, examined this aspect of the question. Paragraph 25 of the Report says: "Opinions differ as to the maximum number which can be dealt with by an eight-clerk polling station. It will certainly at a maximum not exceed 2,500, and other authorities reduce it to 1,800 or indeed considerably less." They calculated that one presiding officer, assisted by two clerks, one to check the electoral register and the other to issue the ballot paper, could deal with a maximum of 1,000 electors a day. Personally, I regard this estimate as distinctly optimistic, and would, at least, at the first election for the newly enfranchised electorate, take 500, increasing the figure by 100 for every two clerks added to the establishment. An illiterate electorate polls very slowly, and where clerks are dealing with unfamiliar registers and challenges may be frequent the process of voting must necessarily be slow.

The presence of women at the polling stations will be a novelty for most places in India outside the urban constituencies. They can be accompanied by their male relatives to the private entrance at the polling station and the latter may be called on to vouch for their identity. This is not an unnecessary precaution since experience at municipal elections disclosed the fact that at one a large number of youths dressed up as women and voted, while at another several respectable ladies who would never have gone near a polling station were personated by less reputable members of their sex.











The somewhat delicate question as to which of two or more wives should exercise the vote is answered differently in different provinces. Some restrict the vote to the "eldest" wife, the one whom the husband married first; others allow the husband to nominate, "such nomination being final." In Bihar it is added that "the statement of the husband as to priority of marriage shall be conclusive." One

Constituency—

Name or number of polling station—

Number of elector on electoral roll—

Signature or thumb impression of elector—

NAME AND SYMBOL OF CANDIDATE		CROSS X
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		
NAME OF CANDIDATE		

NOTE.—See instructions printed on the reverse

One of the voting papers used in the elections. Because large numbers of the voters are illiterate the candidates are indicated by symbols

INDIA AT THE POLLS

of the most interesting points in these elections was the number of women who voted and the arrangements made for them.

In Eastern India there is a period extending to some ten days during the Dasara festival observed by Hindus, when the courts and offices are closed. Something similar occurred during the general election since every officer, except the police who were on duty preserving order, was requisitioned. The lower branches of the magistracy, the Excise officials, engineers, schoolmasters, and professors, all were engaged, and, if available, their wives, in helping India's new electorate to exercise their rights. If throughout the sub-continent the *elections have been carried through without mishap it will be a great tribute to the officials, Indian and European, on whom the extra work from compiling the electoral roll to holding the poll must be a great burden.

* The official figures of the election results will be found in an Appendix at the end of this volume.

SOME FISCAL PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

BY SIR CAMPBELL RHODES, K.C.I.E.

THAT India has her fiscal problems may surprise the man in the street : India, a land of mystery and age-long slumber, of toiling unsophisticated millions, of yogis and rope tricks, with here and there a Bengal Lancer and here and there a Kim.

In the old days and in days not altogether past, inadequate means of communication protected village industries, each village enjoying that degree of self-sufficiency which seems to be the Nirvana of some modern European States; and when bad times came the people died. While the industrial revolution in England was gathering momentum, road and railway communications in India were being steadily improved, with the result that even there handicrafts began to languish before the advancing pressure of the power-driven machine. We think of India as an agricultural country, and so it is. Eleven-twelfths of the Indian population live in rural districts, while four-fifths of the population of England and Wales live in towns. In England only 8 per cent. of the people are engaged in agriculture and 58 per cent. in industry. The relative percentages in India are 71 in agriculture and 12 in industry. The two countries have, however, this in common : agriculture has been neglected by Governments, town-bred politicians, and trade unions alike, because it is widely scattered and therefore inarticulate, in favour of the spoilt child of industry, where concentration renders combination possible. It is all to the good that the present Viceroy has set himself the task of redressing the balance.

While it is generally recognized that India still remains in essence an agricultural country, it is less generally known that so rapid has been her industrial development in recent years that she is now one of the eight largest industrial countries of the world. As her population

SOME FISCAL PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

rapidly increases and her standard of living slowly improves, she tends to consume more of her food products and to transform her raw product exports into exports of manufactured goods (as, for example, bags and sacking for jute, carpets for wool, durries for cotton, and matting for coir), while satisfying from her own internal resources most of her requirements of steel, cement, certain chemicals, paper, glass, matches, and above all of clothing. Never, however, can she afford to dispense with her foreign trade. Her jute mills can supply the world's requirements for sacking; she can produce more tea, rubber, coffee, hemp, hides and skins, spices, seeds, manganese and iron ore than she can ever consume, and if she is to receive payment for these exports, it must be either in the form of merchandise more and more of a luxury nature, or of gold, that futile method of payment to which she has been far too much addicted in the past.

This evolution, so rapid as almost to amount to revolution, has created new fiscal problems for her Government. A tax of only one penny per head produces in India a revenue of over £1,000,000, but the collection of such a tax from the people themselves would be an impossibility. India is a land of small incomes and low taxation, and the most economic channel of collecting taxes is indirectly at the ports. Hence a general system of import duties, which shocked the old free trade England, ever hoping to convert India from her fiscal heresies and never expecting a time was not far distant when she herself would fall from grace, and fall more empirically than India has done.

In the old days when free trade was not merely an economic policy in England but almost a religion, she imposed on India a system alien to the sentiments of the Indian peoples. It was not realized, and perhaps in some quarters there was no desire to realize, that free trade does not necessarily lead to the location of any specific industry in the countries most suited to its economic development, unless all nations start from scratch with the same advantage of capital, quality of labour, and factory laws. Nor was it remembered that free trade deprives a country of a source of revenue easily collected (through the Customs) and calculated to expand, with expanding trade, *pari passu* with Governmental expenditure. Countervailing excise duties are only possible in centralized industries and are never popular, while the collection of income-tax in India is subject to abuse in more senses than one.

From 1882 onwards India was a free trade country, and when import duties were subsequently reimposed on Lancashire cotton goods a countervailing excise duty was placed on the production of the Indian mills. Not even the salt tax has raised such a storm of protest as did the cotton excise duties, and when financial stringency caused the raising by stages of the import duty to 11 per cent. so strong was vocal Indian public opinion that the Government felt compelled to bow to the storm and to leave the excise duty unchanged at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Meantime the Government of India Bill of 1919 was on the anvil, and the Joint Select Committee, while recognizing the responsibility of the Government of India to the British Parliament, pointed out that nothing "was more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain." Out of this pronouncement the fiscal autonomy convention took shape, and successive Secretaries of State have reaffirmed their allegiance to the principle involved. It postulates that, subject to the exigencies of general Empire policy, the British Government, while retaining the right of offering its views to the Government of India, shall not impose its will when the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature are in agreement. Fears have sometimes been expressed that this right of tendering views when the Indian Government is considering its fiscal policy, generally before the Budget is presented, may have been abused by a Government to which on all other matters the Government of India is subordinate. The actual policies adopted in themselves show, however, that the convention has been loyally observed. The writer breaks no official secret if he adds that during his membership of the India Council in Whitehall from 1925 to 1935, when he was closely associated with the scrutiny of the Indian budgetary proposals, there was not a single instance of transgression by successive Secretaries of State, not only of the letter but also of the spirit of the convention. The existence of the fiscal autonomy convention and the rigidity of its observance have never been fully understood by the British industrialists, and on more than one occasion the Secretary of State has had to dash the hopes of those who have approached him with requests that he should exercise powers which in fact he has abrogated to the Government and Legislature of India.

The necessity of raising more revenue import duties to meet the ever-increasing expenditure caused the appointment in 1921 of the

SOME FISCAL PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

Indian Fiscal Commission to examine the tariff policy of India, and in 1922 the Commission presented its report. The question at issue was not whether import duties should continue, for this was inevitable, but whether they should be so regulated as to encourage rather than hamper the development of those industries for which conditions in India were propitious. The findings of the Commission would hardly have offended the susceptibilities of the classic English free trade economists. It was proposed that a Tariff Board should be set up to investigate claims of infant industries for protection, and that revenue duties, though undoubtedly protective in effect, should convey no right of protection or promise of continuity, unless the Government were convinced by the investigations of the Tariff Board that any particular industry possessed potential natural advantages, was one that needed the stimulus of protection for its initiative or growth, and would eventually be able to withstand world competition without the need of protection.

On the whole the system has worked well. Conflicting interests have had an opportunity of placing their respective views before the Board, and by no means in all cases has protection been accorded. The one exception to this general treatment of industry has been the important one of cotton goods, where, owing to its unhappy history, the action of the Indian Government has not been altogether unaffected by political considerations.

The Ottawa Conference of 1932 may be said to have set its seal on the fiscal autonomy convention, when the Indian delegation, ably led by Sir Atul Chatterjee and consisting of five Indians and one Scotsman, sat as equal members with the United Kingdom and Dominion delegates. The resulting trade agreement between the United Kingdom and India has been of benefit to both countries, but was denounced by the Legislative Assembly at Delhi in March, 1936, after a debate which showed that a large portion of the majority (neglectful of Carlyle's famous dictum) seized the opportunity to make one of those somewhat feeble political gestures (which in the past have led the Assembly to throw out a Budget, lock, stock, and barrel) on the somewhat fractious theory that an agreement cannot in any circumstances be advantageous to both parties.

One important outcome of the Ottawa Conference followed on the lines recommended by the Imperial Economic Committee, and

was, it is believed, the first instance in which a particular recommendation of the latter has been put into practice. In 1932 the British and Indian Governments entered into an agreement to put into operation terms which had been arranged by direct negotiation between the British galvanized iron industry and the Indian pig iron industry. Customs figures show that this agreement, providing for mutual preferential duties, has proved of real advantage to Indo-British trade.

The year 1933 marked a further stage in the fiscal relations between India and England in the Clare Lees-Mody pact, when under the wise guidance of two eminent industrialists the Bombay and Lancashire cotton goods industries arrived at an amicable understanding, which has been of benefit to both parties, pointing also to a better way than was found in the old controversies of the past. It is significant that until the fiscal autonomy convention was established no such contact on equal and friendly terms was found possible. By this pact Lancashire frankly recognized that the Indian cotton textile industry was entitled to a reasonable measure of protection for its progressive development, and that both countries required also a higher level of protection against certain foreign countries, where lower costs of manufacture prevailed. On the other hand, India required a larger market in Lancashire for her raw cotton, and both in regard to the grading of Indian import duties and the consumption of Indian cotton in Lancashire the pact has borne fruit.

In her protective policy India has largely avoided mistakes which have been in evidence in the policies of some highly protected countries. Industries working under adverse conditions of organization or locality cannot be protected. The protection must naturally be high, and is therefore likely to produce internal competition, mills better situated and organized, driving into liquidation the old-established concerns. Nor can a country in the interests of its consumers and taxpayers afford to establish industries which cannot produce in such economic quantities as make for cheap production, owing to the limitations or spasmodic nature of internal demand, unless, of course, conditions are favourable for an adequate export trade. Locomotive manufacture in India and high-grade woollen goods in Australia are cases in point.

Enough has been said to give some indication of likely future developments in the commercial relationships between India and

SOME FISCAL PROBLEMS CONSIDERED

England. It is not the province of this article to trespass on the thorny ground of India's political future. There are political parties in all countries which concentrate on an intense nationalism without reflecting on the consequences to their own nationals. Such a party already exists in India and will doubtless persist, but it only maintains its unity in opposition, and discloses fissiparous tendencies immediately anything constructive is proposed.

The contemplated Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General emphasizes the fiscal autonomy convention and instructs him only to intervene when the main intention of any policy contemplated is to injure the United Kingdom rather than to further the economic interests of India.

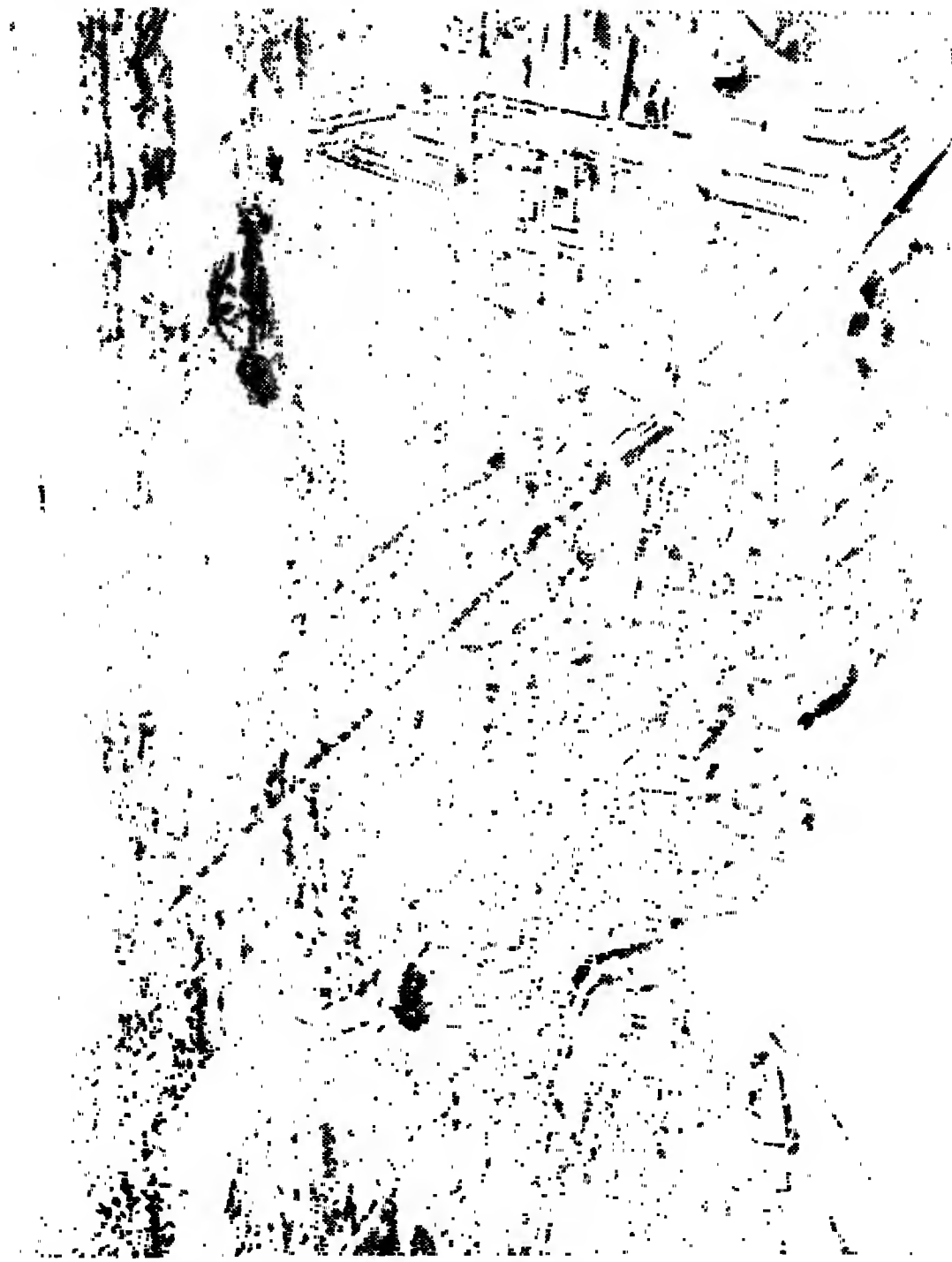
The Indian fiscal autonomy convention must necessarily have a repercussion which is too often overlooked. In abrogating his powers of intervention the Secretary of State no longer remains the spokesman of India's industrial interests. It would be merely a debating point, which happens to be untrue, to assert, as some in India do, that his powers in the past have been utilized otherwise than in the interests of India. India must therefore stand on her own feet and fight her own battles. She is faced with the problem common to all self-governing countries of the consumer *versus* the industrialist, and the necessity for controlling the powers of the industrialist when it comes to a question of bargaining for international trade. This is a vital matter for India, where so much of her trade depends on the export of raw materials. The method of approach at the Ottawa Conference was for each country to ask the other, "What do you want out of me?" and then to state clearly what she herself could not give up. Something must of necessity be given up if an agreement is to be reached, or, in other words, probably some ill-found and unsuitable industry will have to receive a rap over the knuckles in the wider interests of the country as a whole. The modern attitude of aiming at self sufficiency and at the same time of demanding export markets would be ludicrous if it were not a tragedy. India must have markets in which to sell her superfluous raw materials, and she must be prepared to accept payment in commodities rather than in the precious metals. She wants preferences in England for her tea, coffee, tobacco, and other goods; England, in turn, needs greater preferences in India for her motor-cars and the maintenance of existing preferences on other manufactured goods. Both countries have paramount needs, and

THE NEW INDIA

to gain their essential requirements must be prepared to make sacrifices in other directions. The closing words of the Indian Fiscal Commission Report, though applied to one industry, are applicable to all :—

British manufacturers stand to gain by the increased prosperity of India far more than they stand to lose by the development of Indian industries. The path of liberality is the path of wisdom, and a more prosperous India will mean a more prosperous Britain.

The new Government of India Act is superimposed on the fiscal autonomy convention. Old channels of communication have been closed, but there are pointers in what has been written towards newer channels, dredged deeper it may be hoped into a better understanding, and more profitable to both because they result from the friendly cooperation of two self-governing peoples.



The city of Karachi from the air. Situated near the mouth of the River Indus, on an inlet of the Arabian Sea, it is the third largest port of India and an important link in the Empire air route

THE MARCH OF INDUSTRY

BY SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE

THE Great War revealed the strength as well as the weakness of the economic system then prevailing in India. The available resources in men and material were immense, but organization was in many cases defective and in others entirely absent. Agriculture maintained more than two-thirds of the total population of 300,000,000 but the holdings of the peasants were small and scattered, making it difficult to introduce improved methods of cultivation. The few scientists employed since the beginning of the century had done excellent work, but had not succeeded, except in a small measure, in persuading the agriculturists to adopt their suggestions. Most of the peasants were overburdened with debt and had not learnt to combine for marketing purposes. Cooperation was being taught and had been adopted so far only by a fraction of the agricultural population. The State had protected a considerable portion of the culturable land by irrigation, but there was still large scope for similar schemes elsewhere. A wise and effective policy was in force for the conservation of the forests of the country, but scanty attention had been paid to the commercial exploitation of these valuable resources.

Coal and a few other minerals were being extracted, but some of the processes were wasteful and little use was made of the by-products. Only a beginning had been made in working the extensive iron and limestone deposits. There were not more than three or four hydro-electric plants, all of small size, in the whole of India. The textile industries in jute, cotton, and to a smaller extent in wool, had been developed, but a large number of workers were still dependent on the inefficient hand-loom industry. The manufacture of pig iron had been begun in a small way many years previously and the great Tata works began production of steel only two years before the War started. The requirements of India for cutlery, galvanized sheets, hardware, tools

and implements, as well as mechanical and electrical machinery, were met entirely from imports. The large supply of hides and skins suffered from faulty preliminary processes, and only a fraction of the available material was worked up in the country itself. The local processes for utilizing the extensive resources in vegetable oil-seeds were crude and wasteful. There were a few small chemical industries, but India was dependent on imports for matches, pharmaceutical drugs, and fertilizers.

Labour in the villages was plentiful but suffered from malnutrition, bad housing, and lack of education. The factories drew their labour from the villages and had the additional handicap that the workers were constantly returning to their homes. There was a marked disparity of the sexes in the factory population, naturally giving rise to many social difficulties. The workers had not learnt to combine for mutual benefit or protection and could ventilate their grievances only by means of sporadic and ill-organized strikes. Legislation for their protection had been introduced, but was much behind the needs of the times. Altogether there was a serious shortage in skilled labour for the extension of existing industries and the development of new industries. Wages were low and efficiency was poor.

The country was fairly well covered by the main lines of railways, but they did not reach the remoter towns and villages. Moreover, their economical working was hindered by the necessity for importing most of their requirements. The mileage of metalled roads was wholly inadequate for internal traffic. Motor transport was beginning in spite of the heavy cost of petrol in the interior. There was a large reserve of sturdy seamen along the coastal districts, but there was no indigenous merchant-marine and practically no facilities for shipbuilding.

The people of India have always had the habit of absorbing large imports of gold and silver for hoarding and other purposes, and although the indigenous bankers have for many centuries played an important part in facilitating internal trade, investment for saving was a modern conception in the country. In 1913 the combined total of private deposits in the three presidency banks, the exchange banks with head offices outside India, and the Indian joint-stock banks amounted to Rs.954,000,000, or (at the then rate of exchange) a little over 4s. 6d. per head of the population. It was believed impossible to raise any large public loan at any one time in India itself, and

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consequently much of the public debt was contracted in the London market.

The external trade of the country, which brought much benefit to the peasants and labourers, had been developed almost entirely by British and other foreign merchants. The plantation industries, such as tea and coffee, also owed their rise to the enterprise of British firms. Most of the organized industries had a similar origin, though in some instances, as in cotton textiles and in the new steel industry, Indians had come to the front. But Indian capital and Indian enterprise were still nervous and uninstructed in the years preceding the War. From time to time the Government had contemplated the adoption of active measures for industrial development, but the efforts of far-seeing administrators had been thwarted by the obstruction and the hesitations of authorities still under the influence of Cobdenite theories. A new situation arose during the War when it became impossible for India to import her normal requirements from outside. She was, at the same time, called upon to furnish from her own resources supplies for the armies in the eastern theatres of the War.

An Industrial Commission was appointed, with Sir Thomas Holland as its president, to survey the existing position and devise measures for a wise and rapid development of Indian resources. As the needs of the War intensified a Munitions Board was created under the same able and energetic president. The primary function of this board was the utilization, to the utmost extent, of Indian resources for the prosecution of the War, and incidentally it became its duty to meet the requirements of the civil population as well. The impetus given by this organization to industrial development was far-reaching, and many of the newer industries established in India owe their origin to it.

The Munitions Board closed its operations at the end of the War and the Government formally accepted the two fundamental principles recommended by the Industrial Commission. It was decided that Government must play an active part in the industrial development of the country, and that for this purpose it must be provided with adequate administrative equipment as well as scientific and technical advice.

At this stage the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms took effect and the respective spheres of action of the Central and Provincial Governments were demarcated. Agriculture and industries as well as the

protection of labour became provincial subjects, while to the Central Government were assigned the duties connected with central research institutions, concurrent labour legislation, and some comparatively minor subjects such as mines. Provincial Ministers and Legislatures were anxious to develop both agriculture and industries, but with their very limited resources in men and money they were able to accomplish only a very limited programme. The Central Government could not, under the new Constitution, organize the technical services recommended by the Industrial Commission, and had to content itself with passing extensive legislation for the betterment of the conditions of labour. The measures included a reduction in the hours of labour, adequate protection of women and children in mines and factories, compensation for accidents, registration and protection of trade unions, and machinery for the settlement of trade disputes.

A Royal Commission on Labour under the chairmanship of Mr. Whitley (late Speaker of the House of Commons) subsequently recommended further reforms. The Central Government has implemented most of the recommendations that were within its own power, but financial considerations have prevented the Provincial Governments from carrying out the suggestions that were within their purview. Housing in the industrial centres still leaves much to be desired, but education has spread, it is easier to train skilled men, wages have risen, and it may now be stated with some confidence that there is a progressive improvement in the efficiency of Indian labour.

Although some of the concrete schemes suggested by the Industrial Commission did not materialize, extensive development both in agriculture and in industries has taken place. The Provincial Governments devoted large sums to rural education and, even if some of the money might have been spent to better advantage, the rural community is now more receptive of newer ideas. The enlarged staff of the agricultural departments have been able to introduce improved methods and processes of cultivation with great success. During the last few years a comprehensive and well coordinated programme has been available in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture presided over by the present Viceroy. It would be tedious to enumerate the many improvements effected, but some instances might be given. The area under improved cottons is now nearly one-fifth of the total cotton area of the country, there has been a large increase in the area under improved wheats, while new

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varieties of sugar-cane over more than two-thirds of the area devoted to this crop.

An Imperial Council of Agricultural Research with its own technical staff has been established by the Central Government. During the year 1934-35 it financed nearly eighty different schemes of work, some under its own guidance and some in the Provinces. Attention is being devoted at the same time to animal husbandry, important in India for draught as well as dairy purposes. Experiments are in progress in more than one province for the consolidation of peasants' holdings, which would make improved processes of cultivation much easier to adopt. The cooperative movement is making rapid headway in several provinces. Investigations are on foot under expert guidance for the better organization of the marketing of rural produce. Above all, the keen personal interest of Lord Linlithgow in the welfare of the villager has imparted a new and vigorous life to the movement for rural reconstruction in India.

Meanwhile other measures adopted by the State are also contributing to agricultural progress in the country. The Legislatures of several provinces have enacted laws securing fairer rents and greater fixity of tenure for the peasants. Experiments are being made for the composition and gradual extinction of rural indebtedness by judicial proceedings. But the most notable development has been in the progress of irrigation during the last fifteen years. The prosperity of the new province of Sind will depend mainly on the results of the Lloyd Barrage canals, which constitute one of the largest irrigation works undertaken in India. Other important projects have been completed covering extensive areas in the Punjab and Western Rajputana, in the United Provinces, and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

Provincial Governments have now a direct interest both in the conservation and the exploitation of forest resources. Judicious measures have been adopted to develop the commercial utilization of timber and other forest products. Markets have been sought not only in India, but also in Europe and other parts of the world.

In minerals the quantity of coal extracted, mainly for internal use, showed a progressive increase down to the year 1930 though the value fluctuated considerably. The world crisis naturally affected the consumption of coal. A committee is now investigating methods for the better conservation and working of the coal mines. Manganese is

produced entirely for export and the quantities extracted and exported increased rapidly until the depression caused a steep fall which, it may be hoped, has now been arrested. Both the production and export of mica have risen substantially during the last twenty years. India consumes enormous quantities of salt. Special efforts have been made in recent years to increase the quantity extracted and produced locally, and the industry now gives employment to large numbers. A portion of India's requirements is supplied from works in Aden, largely financed by Indian capitalists. There is practically no import now from other countries.

In petroleum the produce of the wells in Assam has increased five-fold in the ten years between 1923 and 1932, while the Punjab wells suffered from the economic crisis. Perhaps the most remarkable figures are those relating to iron ore. In 1929 the quantity extracted in Bihar and Orissa reached the record figure of 1,400,000 tons, while the produce of the Indian States in Orissa approximated another 1,000,000 tons. There has naturally been a falling-off since then. Dr. Meek has calculated that, compared with the average of the five pre-War years, the volume of mineral production rose to 182 per cent. in 1930.

There has been no proper census of industrial production in India, but according to the calculations of Dr. Meek, compared again with the five pre-War years, there was an increase in the main industries in 1930 of 62 per cent. in value and 80 per cent. in the number of employees. Several factors have contributed to this remarkable development. Taking advantage of the fiscal autonomy that was conceded to it, the Indian Government has adopted a policy of discriminating protection. A Tariff Board was constituted to examine applications and protection has been given only where the Government and the Legislature were satisfied that the raw material was available in the country, that labour could be trained and that the industry would be able to stand on its own legs in the course of time.

In addition to this special protection the financial needs of the Government have compelled it to impose increasingly high Customs duties on practically all imports of foreign manufacture. The growing prosperity of the rural and urban community in the years before the depression provided an expanding market for indigenous manufactures. At the same time the Government has adopted a deliberate policy of local purchase of its own requirements for the Army, the



Among the many important hydro-electric schemes to be carried out in India during recent years is the Uhl River scheme which provides power to the Punjab grid. The waters of the Uhl River and its tributary, the Lambadag, have been harnessed, and after passing through a tunnel nearly three miles long are dropped 2,000ft. to the power house. The picture shows the Shanan power station pipe-line and the outdoor sub-station

railways, and other public works. Further, the large public loans floated in India during the War developed the habit of investment among the Indian public, and growing numbers of Indian youths have sought training and employment in industrial pursuits. The combined effect of all these circumstances may be illustrated by figures concerning a few of the main industries. In the fifteen years between 1920 and 1935 there was an average annual increment of 5 per cent. in the production of cotton piece-goods. During the same period the production of pig-iron in India increased from a little over 300,000 tons to more than 1,500,000 tons. The corresponding rise in steel production was from 113,000 tons to 880,000 tons. Paper is now another protected industry, and between 1925 and 1930 the average annual increment in production was nearly 10 per cent. The figures for the cement industry are even more striking. In 1920 the total quantity of cement consumed in India slightly exceeded 200,000 tons, of which less than half was of Indian manufacture. In 1935 the consumption of Indian cement was nearly 900,000 tons, while the imports fell to the insignificant figure of 43,000 tons.

An industry closely connected with agricultural development is the manufacture of sugar. We have already mentioned the extensive introduction of improved varieties of sugar-cane. The high revenue duty which has been in force ever since the War, followed by the protection given to the sugar industry a few years ago, has resulted in a very rapid expansion of production, and it is estimated that imports, which used to be a large source of revenue, will soon disappear.

Apart from such large organized industries, a number of smaller but important new industries have arisen in the country. Some of these are subsidiaries to the larger industries; among them may be instanced the manufacture of galvanized sheets, wires, and nails. In other cases, local resources are being utilized for the supply of local needs. Matches, cigarettes, fertilizers, sports goods, and pharmaceutical drugs come under this category. A very important development of the period, which is likely to have a far-reaching effect on the extent and organization of industries in India, has been the construction of large hydro-electric installations in several provinces, such as the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Madras.

Concurrently with these developments there has been a steady improvement in transport and communication. Railways have been

constructed in land-locked tracts and a thorough rehabilitation of the older systems has been accomplished. Motor traffic has increased in a striking manner and is now a serious competitor of the railways. A Road Fund has been established with a view to improve and extend the roads of the country. In order to facilitate the ocean trade a new seaport has been constructed at Vizagapatam and the old port of Cochin is being enlarged and improved. An expert committee investigated the problem of the development of an Indian merchant marine. A training school for ships' engineers and navigation officers has become a popular institution and Indian enterprise is now participating in the coastal trade.

Since the close of the War the Government has floated large loans in the country at moderate rates of interest and the investments in Postal Savings Banks and Savings Certificates show a steady and remarkable increase. The private deposits in the three classes of banks mentioned earlier in this article amounted in 1933 to over 2,300,000,000 rupees, or 10s. per head of the population. A Reserve Bank has been established and, it is hoped, will develop and coordinate the banking system of the country. Different views may be held regarding the recent export of gold from India, but there can be no doubt that the capital in Indian hands is now far more mobile and fruitful than in pre-War times.

DIVERSITY IN LANDSCAPE

BY BRIGADIER H. J. COUCHMAN, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

THE separation of Burma permits an easier general classification of the topography of India than was hitherto possible. With the loss of that area of hills and central plain which may aptly be likened to a closed fist with thumb and forefinger outstretched, Indian topography falls naturally into four groups—the southern hills, the peninsular tableland, the alluvial and desert plains, and the northern mountains.

Each of these groups has its distinctive characteristics, and for a detailed description one must study the topographical maps of the Survey of India, which cover in one form or another the whole vast area of 1,650,000 square miles.

The first group covers 250 miles of the southernmost portion of India, from Cape Comorin to the Nilgiri Hills. These and the Palni Hills, farther south, rise to some 8,000ft. and provide in Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kodaikanal some of the most pleasant of the Indian hill stations. Unlike those in the Himalaya in the fourth group the higher slopes are comparatively gentle ; cross-country riding is possible and motor-cars can be used freely. The hill ranges, however, are comparatively narrow and the greater portion of this area is flat, especially towards the east coast, and is below 1,000ft. in height.

An interesting topographical feature is the connecting link between India and the island of Ceylon, known as Adam's Bridge, a string of seven small islands spread over the twenty miles of sea. Of the more important towns may be mentioned Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevely, and the port of Cochin.

In the second group, which forms nearly half the whole area of India, the scenery changes ; the high hills disappear and for over 1,000 miles hilltops exceeding 4,000ft. are rare. The main feature of this area is the Western Ghats, which rise steeply on their western

flank, sometimes approaching within twenty miles of the coast and seldom receding to more than fifty miles from it. The Western Ghats can be traced for over 700 miles and may indeed be said to extend northwards so far as the famous ridge of Delhi. For the greater part of their length they form the watershed between the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, and rivers such as the Godaveri and the Kistna rise within fifty miles of the former to flow ten times that distance into the latter. To the east of these ghats the country is mainly flat, the general level decreasing from south to north. Hill ranges there are, like ribs issuing from the spine of the Western Ghats, but these are of no marked topographical importance.

Approaching the Bay of Bengal are the Eastern Ghats, a somewhat disconnected range, unlike its western counterpart, which in its central portion rises to over 5,000ft. At its northern edge this peninsular tableland merges gently into the plains over the greater part of its length, with a small but steep buttress on each flank. These are the sacred hills of Parasnath, 4,480ft., and Guru Sikhar, 5,640ft., more usually referred to as Mount Abu. In addition to the large seaports of Bombay and Madras in this group are the important towns of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Indore, and Jaipur, capitals of Indian states of the same names; Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces; the military stations of Bangalore, Poona, and Jubbulpore, and the cotton centre of Ahmedabad.

The third group comprises the vast plains threaded by the Indus and Ganges rivers with their tributaries, and in the north-east corner the lower reaches of the Brahmaputra. Apart from the small and compact mass containing the Garo, Khasi, and Jaintia Hills of Assam, the area is devoid of topographical features. From Karachi to Lahore, and thence *via* Delhi to Calcutta, a distance of nearly 2,000 miles, stretches an unbroken plain of an average width of over 200 miles. So flat is it that between Saharanpur and Ambala, 100 miles north of Delhi, where the parting between the Indus and Ganges catchment areas is found, the height above sea-level at Calcutta, 900 miles away, is but 900ft.

The western, or Indus, portion of this plain differs considerably from the eastern. Along its eastern fringe lies the Great Indian Desert, an area of many thousand square miles, sparsely inhabited and practically waterless. To the north and east of this are the Southern Punjab and Sind plains, where the area of cultivation has been, and

DIVERSITY IN LANDSCAPE

is being, greatly increased by irrigation canals. The country here has the well-known geometrical appearance of irrigated lands.

In the eastern or Gangetic plains, also, irrigation has played its part, but not to the same extent. Approaching the Bay of Bengal is the deltaic area at the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra rivers stretching between the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong. In this plains group lie most of the important towns of India. Those with a population of over 150,000 are the capital city of Delhi, the provincial capitals of Calcutta, Lahore, Lucknow, Allahabad, Karachi, and Patna, and the important centres of Amritsar, Cawnpore, Agra, and Benares.

Finally, the mountains which form the geographical frontier of India, although the actual political frontier sometimes lies beyond them, as in Baluchistan, and sometimes along the southern foot, as over the central portion of the frontier, where the independent kingdom of Nepal comes down to the edge of the Gangetic plain. British India, indeed, as distinct from Indian states, can claim only a small portion of these mountains, most of which lie in the states of Chitral, Kashmir, Tehri, Garhwal, and Bhutan. With the exception of Mount Everest, which lies eighty miles beyond the Indian frontier, they contain the highest mountains of the world, K.2, in Kashmir, and Kanchenjunga, in Sikkim, rising above 28,000ft., and several others above 26,000ft., an altitude unsurpassed elsewhere.

Scattered along the lower ranges lie most of the well-known Indian hill stations, as Simla, Naini Tal, and Darjeeling, and others at heights between 6,000ft. and 8,000ft., welcome summer retreats from the scorching plains below. Famous, too, is the valley of Kashmir, in which lies Srinagar, the capital, the largest town in the whole area.

SOME REWARDS OF DISCRIMINATING TRAVEL

THE traveller in India is invariably impressed with the extraordinary variety of its physical aspects and the remarkable pageantry of the picturesque procession of Indian life. Throughout the length and breadth of the country the strange traditions of India may be read in ancient monuments of unique beauty or in landscapes upon which much of Asiatic history has been enacted. While all that speaks of the past encircles the traveller everywhere, the newer romance of the British connexion with India has made its indelible mark ; great railroads and highways make a network of communications across the land, amid scenery and environments which have no parallel elsewhere in the world.

The scenic variety ranges from the towering altitudes of the Himalayas in the north, crowned with snowfields and glaciers in regions of perpetual solitude, to wide level spaces, barren and sunbaked, or cultivated and water-logged. The plains are broken by the Central Plateau, where jungle densities still seclude the haunts of aboriginal tribes. On the west rise the shattered crags and the fantastic outlines of tawny-coloured ridges which overlook the Indian Ocean. Southward lies peaceful undulating country, green and bounteous.

The scenes and episodes which Kim saw on his trek along the Great Trunk Road still repeat themselves in this age of car and train. Saints and sages desultorily wander to distant sacred shrines ; quaint wedding processions pass to the clang of cymbals, the beat of drums, and the wail of strange music ; the temple bells sound sadly on the still air ; the patient oxen, at plough or dragging heavy carts, move along the silent fields ; in the countless villages an arcadian simplicity still marks the cultivator's routine, even although he may assemble daily now in some places to hear the magic radio ; with it all there goes the remarkable pageantry of ordinary life which in India remains a picturesque and fascinating thing.

SOME REWARDS OF DISCRIMINATING TRAVEL

It is a land of contrasts. Great cities with clanging tramcars are approached by roads which cut through villages of mud huts, where customs that were the vogue when the world was young are still retained. New Delhi lies surrounded by the ruins of seven former capitals, a majestic monument symbolizing the new relations between East and West. The archaeologist uncovers cities, such as Taxila and Mohenjo Daro, as old as history itself in the neighbourhood of irrigation projects, like the Sukkur Barrage, which have made desert places bloom. Tribesmen trek down to Peshawar with their wares from the distant places of Central Asia along routes that Alexander followed, and great camel caravans negotiate the Khyber Pass along whose steep defiles a railway to-day winds a tortuous way.

The experienced traveller, studying conditions of climate, arrives in Bombay early in December, with the intention of remaining in the country until the end of February. During that period the days are cool and in many places the nights are cold. Winter in reality only comes to the far north. In March the tropical sun begins to assert itself aggressively, except in the hill stations. Darjeeling and Simla are delightful then, as are many other little towns among the foothills of the great mountains, whose distant peaks are eternally white.

A typical Indian tour extends from six to eight weeks, but much may be seen in a month. Even in two weeks the visitor may see Bombay ; Agra, with its mysteriously gleaming Taj Mahal ; the Delhis, old and new, encompassed with monuments and discarded cities, magnificent in their beauty and glorious even in their decay. The tour would include Lucknow, with its sad memories of the past ; Benares, that ancient Hindu city and home of the faith, with its strange scenes at the temples and the Ghats on the banks of the Ganges ; and capitals of Indian states, such as Jaipur and Udaipur, enshrining unusual traditions in the current life of the people.

—A longer stay affords a wider opportunity for seeing peoples and places which for novelty and interest are unending in variety and charm. Amritsar, the "capital" of the Sikhs, with its Golden Temple set in a placid lake ; Lahore, with its teeming Moslem community sheltered under its ancient fort ; a glimpse of the Khyber Pass and the motley life that characterizes it, on the road and in the caravanserais ; Peshawar, the city of the Pathans on the edge of that borderland which is the North-West Frontier ; a visit to the delectable country of Kashmir ; or a journey to the modern Glasgow which is Calcutta.

The enterprising traveller nowadays does not even leave the villages untouched. Here the real life of India may be seen, folk living a life scarcely affected by modern ways, in spite of the vernacular newspaper, read by a village headman beside the well at sundown, or the motor-bus which passes along the highway where the village track ends.

The traveller is also impressed with the vastness of the land, realizing how the guidebooks can describe provinces as being as large as European countries. But railways, highways, and air routes have opened up the country, east and west, and north and south. The ordinary tourist can reach almost any point within three days by train, and the adventurously inclined may map out itineraries into strange territories, even to the eastern and southern limits of Persia, Russia, Tibet, and China.

These are the remote byways into the mountains through which adventurers from time immemorial have reached the rich plains of India. Routes exist by Leh and Kashmir, or by the gorges of the Sutlej, from Tibet ; there are passes beyond Gilgit into the Pamirs ; or by those of Sikkim from Lhasa. These are not, however, the highways for the multitude. But modern facilities can quickly take the traveller to the borders of Afghanistan at the British end of the Khyber ; to the now growing city that is replacing the earthquake-stricken town of Quetta ; to the ever-changing panorama of life on the Hindustan-Tibet Road beyond Simla, where curiously garbed folk with a Mongolian cast of features live scantily from tiny fields surrounded by the majestic forests of the lower Himalaya. Or the tourist may be quickly transported to the great states of the south—Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore—where they will see medievalism being adapted to modern conditions by rulers powerful but wise, who uphold traditions dating to a remote past while seeking to bring to fruition those new ideas which are features of the India of to-day.



THREE MEMORABLE VICEROYALTIES

BY SIR HARCOURT BUTLER

THE story of these fifteen eventful and difficult years can hardly be presented in clear-cut quinquennial departments. The events of one Viceroyalty often dated from another, and over the whole period hung the clouds of unrest that followed the Great War. Governments changed in England and with them Secretaries of State, Mr. Edwin Montagu, Lord Peel, Lord Olivier, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Sir Samuel Hoare, and Lord Zetland; Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders swept across the stage with passive resistance, non-cooperation, civil disobedience, and other forms of revolt against the "satanic" Government of the day and Western civilization at large. Looking backward on a bewildering scene one can disentangle a common purpose and a consistent policy.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919, though they worked well enough in certain Provinces, had yet failed to satisfy advanced political opinion in India, which demanded immediate and complete independence. On the part of the British Government great efforts were made to recognize India's growth, remove legitimate grievances, and promote her prosperity. High place was given to her in Conferences of the Empire and at Geneva. Steady effort was made to improve the position of Indians oversea; to develop indigenous defence forces by land, air, and sea; to strengthen her vulnerable North-West Frontier by roads; to improve industrial conditions and the position of Indian labour; to raise agricultural efficiency and the standards of Indian life. A new railway system and a modern banking system were set up. But political opposition remained unreconciled. Viceroys and Governors were forced to exercise emergency powers for the maintenance of law and order and the enactment of necessary legislation. In the end, after long-drawn controversy, India received a new Constitution, a new place in the British Commonwealth.

Lord Reading brought a great name to India. A prominent member of the Liberal Party in politics, he had been leader of the English Bar, Lord Chief Justice of England, financial envoy and Ambassador at Washington. He found an unusual political situation. By identifying himself with the Khalifat movement, Mr. Gandhi united for the time the forces of Moslem and Hindu discontent. Moslem opinion throughout the world was deeply moved by the prospect of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and violent pronouncements against Islam. The Ali brothers became Mr. Gandhi's chief lieutenants. Lord Reading entered into conversations with Mr. Gandhi without permanent result; and the latter took to open agitation, collecting large numbers of volunteers and large sums of money.

In the year 1921 there were some sixty outbreaks of serious disorder in different parts of India. Chief among these was the Moplah rebellion, which it took some months and a considerable military force to suppress. Stirred up by Khalifat agitators, the ignorant and bigoted Moslems of the Moplah country—an inaccessible tract in West Madras—set up a Moslem Kingdom and perpetrated appalling outrages on local Hindus. Accounts of these atrocities spread throughout India and raised Hindu feeling to such a pitch that further cooperation between them and the Moslems became impossible. The Ali brothers were convicted at Karachi in October, 1921, but Mr. Gandhi remained at large. His arrest and sentence to six years' imprisonment in March, 1922, were quietly effected and relieved a situation that had become increasingly difficult throughout India. Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi and his followers had boycotted the visit of the Prince of Wales.

His Royal Highness landed on November 17, 1921. Serious riots occurred that day in Bombay, and trouble was stirred up elsewhere; but the success of the agitators was only partial. The great loyal heart of India responded warmly to the Prince's personality, and his friendliness and sincerity left behind him warm impressions and memories and strengthened the ties that bind India to the Throne.

Important acts and incidents of this Viceroyalty were the dispatch of Mr. S. Sastri to visit the Dominions in connexion with the position of Indians oversea, the appointment of the Lee Commission to settle questions affecting the Civil Services in India, and of the Muddiman Committee on further political reforms. Lord Reading's Government also strongly pressed on the British Government the need of con-

ciliating Moslem opinion; indeed, the unauthorized publication of one of their dispatches by Mr. Edwin Montagu led to his retirement from the India Office. Moslem feeling in India was finally cooled by the abolition of the Khalifate and the expulsion of the Khalifa by the Angora Assembly at the end of 1923. There was serious trouble on the North-West Frontier and among the Sikhs, and formidable communal riots raged in Calcutta. Despite his remarkable patience and powers of persuasion Lord Reading was obliged to use his emergency powers in certifying the salt tax and promulgating an ordinance to strengthen the ordinary criminal law in Bengal—a practice which became increasingly necessary for his successors. The final act of Lord Reading was his letter to the Nizam of Hyderabad to the effect that the sovereignty of the British Crown was supreme in India and that no ruler of an Indian State could justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. The latter Government was responsible for peace and good order throughout India and had the right to interfere when necessary in the internal affairs of Indian States. This statement of a late Lord Chief Justice was approved by a late Lord Chancellor, Lord Birkenhead.

Lord Irwin was warmly welcomed by India as the descendant of Sir Charles Wood, whose name has always been associated with the famous dispatch of 1854 that laid the foundations of India's modern educational system. To Indians this dispatch is in a sense the seed-bed of emancipation and political reform. Political reform was the leading characteristic of Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty. He brought to it the distinction of a rising statesman of proved ability in many departments of English public life and of an exceptionally high character. He found India torn by communal strife and rioting. He appealed to leading Moslems and Hindus in the name of Indian national life and religion to end this antagonism, deplorable to all, and to none more deplorable than to the British Government. His appeal failed, and he then asserted in clear language the rights of minorities to the protection of the law. Apart from communal disorders Lord Irwin's Government was confronted at different times with trouble on the North-West Frontier, communistic intrigues, terrorism, particularly in Bengal, and the outbreak of an open rebellion, lasting some months, in Burma. None the less a liberal policy was advanced. The heavy fall in the prices of agricultural produce caused widespread distress and unrest, and was alleviated, so far as possible, by local remissions of revenue and rent and other forms of assistance.

A Royal Commission on Agriculture, presided over by Lord Linlithgow, presented a most valuable report on existing conditions with comprehensive proposals for their improvement. Important recommendations by the Royal Commission on Currency were adopted, and the rupee was fixed after much discussion at 1s. 6d. An independent Public Services Commission was set up. Imperial Acts created a Royal Indian Navy and freed the Anglican Church in India from control in England. The Indian States Committee reviewed the relations of the Princes to the Paramount Power, and recommended the transfer of their relations from the Governor-General in Council to the Viceroy as representative of the King-Emperor.

The part played by Lord Irwin in the course of political reform is well known. The appointment of the Simon Commission met with strong opposition because it had no Indian member. By various arrangements this opposition was partially overcome. On October 31, 1929, before the Commission had issued its brilliant report, Lord Irwin announced, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, that it was implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, was the attainment of Dominion status. He also indicated that a Round-Table Conference would be held in London. This announcement, approved by the Labour Government, was criticized in Conservative circles in England, and failed to satisfy the party of Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, who still claimed immediate Dominion status and complete independence. In March, 1930, Mr. Gandhi inaugurated civil disobedience by open violation of the law regulating the manufacture of salt. He was arrested and interned in Yeravda gaol, and the Viceroy issued ordinances proscribing the Congress. Before the end of the year over 50,000 persons had been convicted of various criminal offences. The gaols were full and constitutional discussion with the Congress Party was as far off as ever. Between February 17 and March 5, 1931, Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi held interviews resulting in a pact. This pact was accepted at a session of the Congress in Karachi but rejected by many Congress leaders, who claimed a victory over the Government and demanded larger concessions. Political tension was for the time being relieved by the pact and the release of many thousand prisoners which followed it; but Mr. Gandhi was unable to control his followers and lawlessness increased. Meanwhile Moslem feeling was excited by the claims of victory advanced by the Hindus and within a month of the pact, and shortly before the

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Viceroy's departure from India, savage communal strife broke out and continued for several days in Cawnpore as a result of attempts by Hindus to force Moslem shopkeepers to close their shops in protest against the execution of a Congressman.

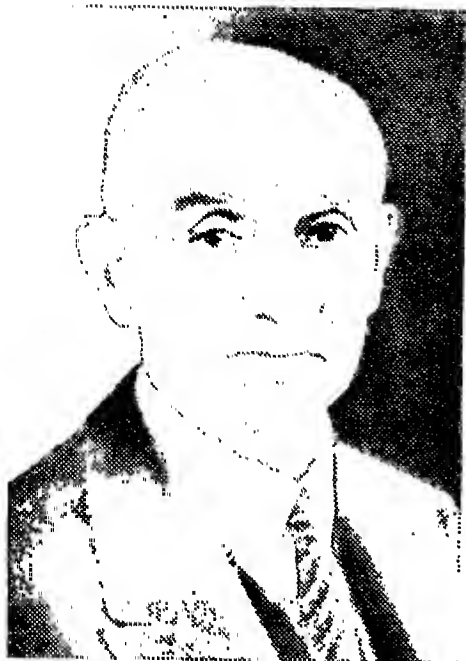
Lord Willingdon was no stranger to India. He had been Governor of Bombay and Madras, Governor-General of Canada, and President of a Commission in China. All these high offices he held with great distinction and popularity. India was still afflicted with agrarian, communal, and terrorist unrest, not to mention Congress hostility and financial stress. With the advent of the National Government in August, 1931—Sir Samuel Hoare being Secretary of State—a dual policy was adopted—namely, to press on the reforms with the one hand but to enforce law and order vigorously with the other. This is not the occasion to detail the course of the reform programme through Round-Table Conferences, deputations to India, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee of both Houses. The results of exhaustive examination and consultation with interests concerned were finally embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. This massive piece of legislation sets up a central responsible federal Government for British India and the Indian States, grants autonomy to the provincial Governments, separates Burma from India, and creates two new provinces, Orissa and Sind, in India. Foreign, military, and Indian State affairs are reserved in the hands of the Viceroy, and he and his provincial Governors are given certain emergency powers. This great measure, so laboriously compiled, was not passed without further troubles.

In August, 1931, Mr. Gandhi went to England to the Round-Table Conference. During his absence his followers broke the law and were imprisoned. On his return he asked to see the Viceroy and was refused an interview except on terms which he would not accept. Civil disobedience was revived. Viceregal ordinances were issued, Mr. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested, the Congress was declared an unlawful association, and some 65,000 persons were convicted. It soon became apparent that the movement ceased to attract popular support. Mr. Gandhi's influence was now definitely on the wane, and he transferred his energies to fresh fields. Hindus and Moslems having failed to agree as to the representation of different groups in the new Legislatures, the British Government formulated proposals. These were unacceptable to Mr. Gandhi, who negotiated the so-called Poona Pact, which in turn was adopted by the British Government.

Under this pact the depressed classes were awarded greatly increased representation, with the result that Hindu society was rent in twain and minorities generally became discontented. Mr. Gandhi gradually withdrew from active politics and devoted himself to raising the conditions of the depressed classes and village life generally.

Communal feeling led to outbreaks in the Punjab, Kashmir, Bombay, and elsewhere, but gradually the political situation improved. Terrorism in Bengal yielded to a large extent to the wise and strong administration of Sir John Anderson. The Burma rebellion was suppressed and ended with an amnesty. The Ottawa Agreement was accepted and negotiations were carried through by India and Lancashire in regard to cotton. The cost of the Army was reduced and its Indianization was advanced by Sir Philip Chetwode—a policy commenced by Lord Inchcape and Lord Rawlinson—and, following inquiry by a judicial Tribunal, the British Government made a grant to the military budget of India of £1,500,000 sterling a year. Great progress was made in aviation and Viceregal journeys by air became the rule. Sir Samuel Hoare had flown to India in January, 1927, thereby, as Lord Irwin observed, opening another road to Delhi; but Lord Willingdon was the first flying Viceroy. The finances gradually improved, the rupee was linked to sterling, and a Reserve Bank was established. Terrible earthquakes ravaged Bihar and laid Quetta level with the ground with great loss of life and property; Government relief was granted on a very liberal scale.

At the close of the period under notice irreconcilable opposition to Government still existed in certain quarters, but a desire for cooperation had become more general. And the imagination of India was powerfully affected by the very remarkable and spontaneous demonstrations of grief among all classes, and on a scale never known before, at the death of King George V—a tribute at once to the virtues and wisdom of a beloved Monarch and it may well be at the same time a gesture of hope for the future.



Lord Reading, Viceroy (1921-26)



Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax), Viceroy
(1926-31)



Lord Willingdon, Viceroy (1931-36)

INDO-BRITISH TRADE

By DR. D. B. MEEK

FROM the point of view of Indo-British trade the new Constitution for India is being brought into being on the rising slope of recovery, and in this respect the date may be regarded as having been most fortunately chosen. To obtain a view of the present position of Indo-British trade and some estimate of future developments it is desirable to examine the general changes which have taken place during some years past. These changes will indicate the trend of affairs and give some guidance as to the future. In the table which follows the average values of trade between the two countries in merchandise alone are given for four important periods : the pre-War five years, the War years, the post-War five years, and the two fiscal years 1934-35 and 1935-36 :—

Value of Trade in Merchandise
between India and United Kingdom

In crores of rupees (1 crore = 10 million)

	Pre-War	War	Post-War	1934-36
Imports into India	92	84	146	53
Exports to United Kingdom	56	70	73	50
Difference	—35	—14	—73	—3
Total	148	153	219	103

Apparent inconsistencies are due to rounding

The principal features which strike the eye in this table are (1) the large fall in the present value of the imports from the United Kingdom as compared with the pre-War figure ; (2) the much smaller decrease in the case of exports to the United Kingdom over the same period ;

(3) the large decrease in the value of the total trade between the two countries during the same interval, and (4) the almost complete disappearance of the balance of merchandise trade between the two countries during recent years. Formerly this balance was largely against India.

These figures all relate to values, and naturally changes in prices over such a long period render them of little use as an accurate measure of variations in the volume of the trade. But even an elimination of price changes, admittedly only approximate, does not bring back the relative pre-War position between India and the United Kingdom from the point of view of volume of trade. Such an attempt at price-change elimination raises of course many difficult problems, but it may be noted that India's internal prices in 1935-36 were on the average some 17 per cent. lower than pre-War prices in the case of articles mainly exported from India and about 8 per cent. higher in the case of articles of import. This, combined with the value figures, indicates therefore that while the volume of imports from the United Kingdom has fallen greatly since 1914 the volume of exports to the United Kingdom from India has not been similarly affected to the same extent.

In order to understand the cause of this important recent change in the balance of the Indo-British trade it is essential to look briefly at the corresponding trade figures of India with foreign countries all grouped together ; and these are set out in the summary table which follows :—

Value of Trade in Merchandise between India and all Foreign Countries grouped together.

In crores of rupees (1 crore = 10 million)

	Pre-War	War	Post-War	1934-36
Imports into India	44	51	89	68
Exports to Foreign Countries	132	108	177	86
Difference	+88	+57	+88	+18
Total	176	159	265	154

Here again the principal changes brought out in the table are :—

(1) The considerable increase in the present value of the imports from foreign countries as compared with the pre-War figure ; (2) the

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very large decrease in the case of exports from India to foreign countries during the same period ; (3) the smaller contraction of the total trade between foreign countries and India than was the case with the total Indo-British trade ; and (4) the great diminution of India's favourable balance of trade in merchandise with foreign countries grouped as a whole.

All the remarks which applied to the drawback attached to value figures in the first table, as a measure of the volume of trade, have equal application here and need not be repeated. Two of the most important changes brought out by these tables, however, can be considered without the same direct relation to price changes, and these are the large changes in the Indo-British and the Indo-Foreign balances of trade. In the case of Indo-British trade the adverse balance, from India's point of view, has fallen by 32 crores from the pre-War period and by 70 crores from the post-War period. Correspondingly in the case of Indo-Foreign trade the favourable balance, again from India's angle, has fallen by 70 crores from either the pre-War or the post-War period. It need hardly be pointed out that no great stress should be laid on the mere coincidence of the figures at 70 crores up and down, as it is obvious that the trade between India and the rest of the Empire, excluding the United Kingdom, has been left out of these calculations. Apart from this omission, however, and the admittedly intimate connexion between a country's imports and exports of merchandise, there is no reason why imports and exports of goods or even goods and services should equal each other or even maintain the same ratio to each other over a period of years. There has been a tendency in many countries in recent years to permit the notion of balanced trade to influence policy largely in the direction of trying to keep down the imports of goods to the level of exports. The use of the term "balance of payments," on the other hand, is justified by definition in that the balance-sheet which shows such payments includes an item to cover the difference between the total payments made by a country to, and received by it from, the whole of the outside world during any specified period.

It is well known that in her balance of payments India has to include an item of some forty or fifty crores of rupees to cover commitments abroad, and during recent years when her normally large active trade balance has disappeared the payment of these foreign commitments has been made possible by the heavy export of gold since the last quarter of 1931. Without these exports of gold the balance of payments

could only have been effected by variations in some of the other items of the balance-sheet—*e.g.*, by an increase in the value of exports or a decrease in the value of imports, by an increase of foreign purchases of Indian securities, or a decrease of Indian purchases of foreign securities, by an extension of the credit period allowed for the payment of imports or by fresh loans from abroad, and so forth. To the extent of the rigidity experienced in such changes the credit and the currency of India have been maintained very largely by the sale of gold to countries abroad.

The decrease in the balance of trade in merchandise between India and the United Kingdom, which formerly was heavily in favour of the United Kingdom, is important from the point of view of the British exporter. The greater part of this change has taken place during the last few years. In pre-depression years India normally possessed a large favourable balance with foreign countries and this helped to off-set the unfavourable balance with the United Kingdom ; but the almost general movement in favour of economic nationalism and self-sufficiency and the measures introduced in recent years to protect many foreign currencies which had retained an artificial and entirely unreal gold basis have greatly diminished India's favourable balance of trade with these foreign countries and have rendered it difficult for India to maintain her high level of purchases from the United Kingdom.

This change in the position has been unfortunate from the angle of the British exporter, but the position would have been even more unfortunate for him but for the enormous export of gold from India during the past five years, which has been mentioned above. The pre-War figures have shown that it was possible for India to buy far more from the United Kingdom than the United Kingdom bought from India ; but such heavy purchases by India were only possible because of the existence in foreign countries of large markets for Indian produce. With the movement in the last few years toward the bilateral balancing of trade between pairs of countries the whole direction of India's trade has changed and it does not seem at present that a return to the old position is at all probable in the near future.

There is no need, in an article such as this, to deal, in any great detail, with the changes which have taken place in the character of Indo-British trade. These have frequently been described by various experts and are set forth fully each year in "The Review of Trade of India," which is published by order of the Governor-General in

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Council and is an authoritative statement of the trade position and the changes. The growth of trade between the United Kingdom and India, which took place before the War, was mainly the result of the increasing export of food and raw materials from India, such as tea, rice, wheat, oilseeds, hides and skins, cotton and jute, and the increasing import into India of cotton piecegoods and capital goods such as plant and machinery for the new industries, railway materials and a wide range of manufactured articles which India could not produce.

The difficulties regarding transport during the Great War gave a stimulus to new developments, and since that period the rapid expansion of the cotton mill and the iron and steel industries in India has resulted in decreased imports of the products of these industries. The shipping difficulties of the War period also assisted in changing the direction of trade in many of India's imports, and Japanese goods received an abnormal stimulus which resulted in a very definite change in the direction of India's foreign import trade. So far as the development of industries in India is concerned the policy adopted has been based on what is known as discriminating protection. This is not a policy of self-sufficiency at any price, or of autarchy in defence of the national currency. It is a policy of protection to industries which, after careful examination by an independent tariff board, have been found to possess natural advantages in India and give promise of being able to prove successful without indefinitely continued protection. Further they must be industries which can prove that they require protection in the initial stages of their development in India. India adheres strongly to this policy and regards the development of such industries as essential to her economic evolution. It appears highly improbable that there will be any recession from this position.

From the considerations which have been set forth above most observers are unanimous in holding the view that the future of British exports to India lies in the export of more highly manufactured articles which India cannot at present produce. This field is still wide and the conclusion arrived at by these experts simply amounts to saying that the United Kingdom must make an effort to retain the start which she enjoyed over others as a result of her early inventions and her early entry into the industrial field. The same experts pin their faith to the export of capital goods to India for the development of that country, of her health, of her agriculture, and of her industries. But such exports to India must be paid for in some way or other, and

as India is still an agricultural country, the payment, in so far as this takes place in goods, must be mainly in the form of foodstuffs and raw materials.

The future requirements of food by the Western countries are closely associated with the population problem and this at present does not hold out much hope of an increasing demand. Further, the contrary trend of population in India would indicate that the necessary supplies for export will not be available in the same measure as in the past unless the efficiency of agriculture in India is greatly improved. Moreover, with the continuation of the present balancing of trade between pairs of countries, in defence of uneconomic currency parities, there is little hope that India will be able to regain her former large active trade balances with Continental countries.

The payment for capital goods for development can, of course, continue to be made, for some years at least, at the present volume, in the form of exports of gold, but these gold exports cannot continue indefinitely. A rise in the prices of agricultural produce relatively to manufactured goods would go some distance in righting the position so long as some countries keep themselves free from the doctrine of a balance between the values of their imports and exports of goods. But it would appear that the possibility of the immediate payment for the capital goods which the United Kingdom may hope to export to India in increasing quantities depends on international action which can only be taken by the principal European countries and the United Kingdom and the United States. Fortunately there has recently been a tendency to move in the direction of such international cooperation with the object of removing some of the currency troubles and consequently of reducing the restrictions and barriers to trade. Agricultural prices have also shown an upward tendency relatively to the prices of manufactures and, put in another form, this tends in the direction of a higher purchasing power for the Indian agriculturist—the point which is so frequently stressed as the solution of the difficulties of the United Kingdom in her export trade to India.

In conclusion it would appear that, apart from a relative rise in agricultural prices and so long as many important countries are forced by their currency difficulties to adhere to the doctrine of balanced imports and exports, the hope for increased trade between the United Kingdom and India lies in the capital development of India through the transfer of sterilized holdings of Indian gold into profit-earning

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capital assets assisted by capital investment in India by this country. This latter form of assistance may require to be conditioned by guarantees that the money so invested is spent on capital goods of British origin.

The field for development is vast, including irrigation, intensive agriculture, sanitation, public health, education, roads and communications, and power and industries. The problem of development undertaken on these lines will involve much concentrated thought and careful financial and technical examination, but the continued progress of an advanced industrial country such as the United Kingdom will depend very largely on the economic and social development of vast and closely populated areas such as India, where the production is still mainly complementary to that of the United Kingdom.

POSTAL, TELEGRAPH, AND TELEPHONE SERVICES

BY G. V. BEWOOR, DIRECTOR-GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS,
INDIA

FERISHTA, the Persian historian, states that Sher Shah during his short reign of five years from 1541 to 1545 was the first who ever employed the post in India and constructed a road from Sonarang, in Bengal, to the banks of the Indus in Sind, a distance of 2,000 miles. The Moghul Emperors developed this system further, and the great Emperor Akbar is said to have placed two swift horses and some runners at a distance of every ten miles for carrying all Government correspondence and sometimes private correspondence. Usually, however, private correspondence was carried by special messengers employed by the sender himself, and it is probable that Government runners were also employed for a consideration to carry and deliver private letters. It is perhaps in these illicit dealings that we should see the origin of the public post. In the old Kingdom of Mysore a regular post appears to have been established so long ago as 1672.

A regular British postal system was first introduced in 1766 by Lord Clive, but this was used mainly for official purposes. During the administration of Warren Hastings the posts were made available to the public for the first time and a regular organization was set up in 1774. The history and growth of the Post Office in India during the subsequent years are intimately connected with the consolidation and expansion of the British Empire in India. Before 1837 there was no general postal system throughout the country, and the few lines of couriers connecting the principal towns with the seat of Government were mainly used for the conveyance of official letters and parcels. The posts in the districts were maintained by the large land-holders, and their duties were laid down in the Bengal Regulation No. XX of 1817.

With the growth of the Imperial Post Office and in connexion with the revision of the provincial settlements the district post system was abolished and all the post offices were taken over by the Imperial Post Office. Act XVII of 1837 is the earliest enactment establishing



The General Post Office at Calcutta

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a public postal service in India, Government reserving to itself the exclusive right to convey letters for hire within the territories of the East India Company. Various enactments were passed from time to time regulating the weights and distances on the basis of which postage was to be levied. Act XVII of 1854 introduced postage stamps for the first time, and the postage rates on letters were then fixed irrespective of distance. The basis of authority for the existing postal system in India is Act VI of 1898, which closely follows the English law on the subject.

With the consolidation of the British Empire in India and the establishment of *pax Britannica* the postal system has expanded phenomenally and has brought within its scope functions other than the mere carriage of letters. Parcel post and the cash on delivery system were introduced in 1877 and insured articles began to be accepted for conveyance in 1878. In 1880 money order work was taken over by the Post Office, and in 1885 the savings bank which had commenced functioning a few years before in the district treasuries was taken over by the Post Office. British postal orders were first sold in 1884, and postal life insurance was also introduced at the same time. In addition to these the post office at present pays the pensions of its own retired employees and of certain military pensioners, sells quinine, caters for the purchase of salt, and performs various other duties.

The Indian Post Office is now functioning uniformly and under a single control over the whole of British India and in almost all the Indian states. The following figures give some indication of the magnitude of business during the financial year 1935-36 :—

Number of post offices	23,695
Number of postal articles handled	1,180 millions
Mileage of postal lines of communication	170,000 miles
Value of insured articles passing through the post	Rs. 100 millions
Number of money orders	40 "
Value of money orders	Rs. 80 "
C.O.D. collections	Rs. 1.5 "
Customs duty collected	Rs. 7.2 "
Postal and Telegraphs pensions paid	Rs. 7.6 "
Military pensions paid	Rs. 16.6 "
Number of postal savings bank accounts open	3.5 "
Amount in deposit	Rs. 67 "
Number of lives assured	92,000
Amount assured	Rs. 178 millions

NOTE.—One rupee is equal to 1s. 6d.

Large as these figures are, it must be said that in some ways the Indian Post Office is still comparatively in its infancy and the scope for its development and expansion is considerable. The country is essentially agricultural and its vast population lives mostly in villages. The percentage of literacy is extremely low, and the number of postal articles per head per annum is only 3.31 for the total population and 41 for the literate population. With the development of industries and commerce and with the increase in literacy there is a vast field for the expansion of the postal organization and postal traffic. In recent years efforts have been made by means of publicity and by the opening of new post offices to increase the postal traffic and to afford to the rural population the advantages of communication with the outside world.

The earliest telegraph line established in India was constructed in 1851 by Dr. W. O'Shaughnessy, a professor of chemistry in the Calcutta Medical College, between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour, and certain other places generally connected with shipping in the Hooghly river. As the experiments proved successful Lord Dalhousie obtained sanction from the Board of Directors to construct telegraph lines from Calcutta to Bombay *via* Agra and from Agra to Peshawar and from Bombay to Madras. These were opened for traffic in 1855 under the conditions laid down by the Telegraph Act XXIV of 1854. Since then the development of telegraphs has proceeded apace and all the latest developments in improved and high speed telegraphy have been adopted in this country. On March 31, 1936, there were over 106,700 miles of telegraph line carrying 524,600 miles of wires and 1,300 miles of cable containing nearly 94,000 miles of conductors. Over this system 17,000,000 inland and foreign telegrams were dealt with giving a revenue of 19,000,000 rupees. The high speed baudot system as well as the teleprinter system are in use.

Telegraphy in India is expensive owing to the great distances covered. Originally the telegraph offices, although owned by the State, were worked as a separate department from the Post Office and it was only just before the Great War that the posts and telegraphs were amalgamated under one Director-General. Apart from and in addition to land lines the wireless system of telegraphy is used for communication between India and Burma, India and Great Britain, and India and Japan. In recent years the telegraph traffic has fallen off considerably, partly as a result of the general trade depression and partly perchance due to the competition of telephones on the one side

POSTAL, TELEGRAPH, AND TELEPHONE SERVICES

and of quicker postal communications by faster trains and aeroplanes on the other. A very large amount of capital is invested in the telegraph system but a use has been found for these lines by the imposition of carrier current circuits thereon for telephony as well as for telegraphy.

The development of telephones on any large scale in India is a matter of recent history, but as long ago as 1881 licences were granted to a private company known as the "Oriental Telephone Company" for the establishment of exchanges at Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Madras, and Rangoon. These licences will not expire until 1963, but in 1943 it will be open to Government to take over these systems should they so desire. These cities were the best field for developments of telephones as they had within a small area a large population essentially industrial and commercial in character. Government were thus left with the task and responsibility of developing telephones in the rest of the country.

It is remarkable that in 1913, when experiments on automatic telephones were being made in England, the first automatic telephone exchange was installed in India at Simla, with an equipment of 700 lines. But before this a number of telephone exchanges had been opened at different places, and by 1911 over 150 telephone exchanges had been established, with about 3,500 subscribers. Since then sustained efforts have been made for expanding telephones, and by March 31, 1936, there were 362 Government exchanges with 25,952 connexions. It will be easily realized that, except for the larger towns, telephone development in the earlier stages was an uphill struggle yielding little or no profit wherewith to finance further extensions. The same can be said to a certain extent of trunk-line connexions, for here again the position was exceptional. Up till the introduction of the telephone "repeater," which is a device which, by means of the thermionic valve, "boosts" the transmission of the human voice every two or three hundred miles, keeping it at normal strength, it was not possible, without incurring prohibitive cost in erecting large-gauge copper wires, to speak over a greater distance than about 300 miles. The large centres of population in India are separated by great distances, and until the telephone "repeater" had been perfected development was necessarily slow. It is doubtful whether, with the possible exception of the United States of America and Australia, any other developed country in the world has such vast distances between big centres, and such difficulties due to weather and remote stretches of desert and jungle as those experienced in India.

These difficulties have been overcome, and there are now direct telephonic circuits extending over a distance of nearly 1,500 miles.

The erection of sufficient circuits between the big centres was a matter of great expenditure, but the introduction of the carrier system has enabled the use of one pair of wires for a number of circuits. To-day almost all the larger towns are connected by trunk telephones extending from Karachi to Calcutta and Peshawar to Colombo, and it is hoped shortly to connect Burma telephonically through the wireless telephone circuit between Madras and Rangoon. The telephone is getting more popular every day, and there is a vast scope for its development and expansion. In the ten years ending with 1935-36 the trunk revenue has gone up from Rs.572,000 to nearly Rs.3,000,000, while the number of connexions have increased by over 60 per cent. The development of telephones is being pushed, and the Department is investing every year large sums of money in the construction of new exchanges, the laying of new trunk lines, and the increasing of available circuits on existing lines.

The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department is under the sole control of one Director-General. Next to the Indian State Railways the Department is the largest single employer under Government, the total number of employees being 120,000 on March 31, 1936. The accounts of the Department have been placed on a commercial basis since the year 1925-26, and Government have laid down the policy that the Department should pay its way and should not be a burden on the general taxpayer. In the recent years of depression the Department was working at a substantial loss, but measures of economy adopted on a large scale, combined with publicity and modifications of rates and the general recovery in economic and trade conditions, have enabled the Department to balance its budget at the end of the year 1935-36. With the development of industry and trade in the country, and with the increase in literacy, the Department can look forward to prosperous times in future, enabling it to expand its activities and to assist in securing the prosperity, peace, and happiness of the general public.

THE STORY OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

BY SIR GUTHRIE RUSSELL, CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

THE history of Indian railways is the history of India in modern times. On April 18, 1853, the first section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was opened from Bombay to Thana, a mere $21\frac{3}{4}$ miles. The Governor of Bombay at that time did not think the event sufficiently important to attend and was represented by an A.D.C. This tiny beginning was to extend into a system of well over 40,000 miles which traverses the entire Indian Continent from Bombay to Calcutta and Madras, from Calcutta and Bombay to the Afghan border and into Baluchistan, and from Peshawar to Tuticorin.

A start having once been made India realized that if she had to develop she must have railways at any cost. The line was pushed ahead through mountain gorges and across malarial swamps, taking its toll of lives but still pressing towards its goal, to make India the great commercial country she is to-day. If one visits the quiet graveyards throughout India and cares to look he will find many a simple tombstone with only a name and a superscription recording that a certain engineer died on railway construction. There are many cases where the engineer was buried beside the line which he helped to construct, his name forgotten; but he did not live in vain. To-day the merchandise of India passes where he lies, and the prosperity of India is in part due to him.

It is difficult to describe the feats of engineering and the problems which had to be overcome by these pioneers of railway construction. In extending the first section of railway already mentioned engineers were faced with the problem of surmounting the ghats, which lie about fifty miles from the coast of Bombay, before they could reach the great plains of India. The railway had to be driven through

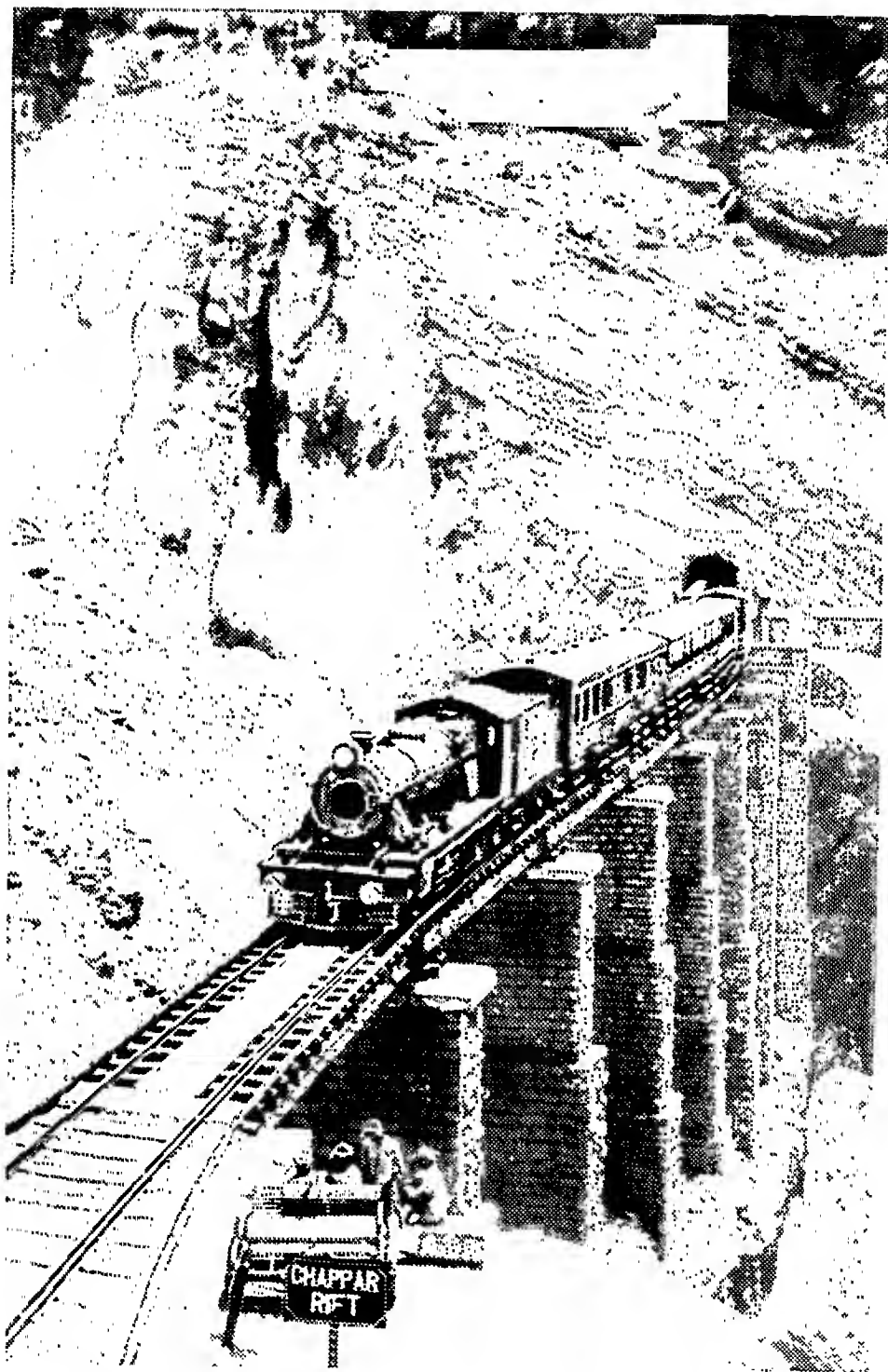
dense jungle and mountain gorges with cliffs towering overhead and mountain streams many hundreds of feet below. The task has been accomplished and the great fertile plains of India have thus been given access to the sea.

A feat in railway construction hardly equalled elsewhere is reflected in the railway through the Chappar Rift on the Sind-Peshawar branch of the North Western Railway. This railway rises 6,000ft. in 120 miles, double the climb of the St. Gothard Railway, and was opened by Princess Louise, Duchess of Connaught, on March 27, 1887. It was built by Major-General Sir James ("Buster") Browne. The Chappar Rift is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. The railway creeps along one side of the valley with crags towering a thousand feet above and with a mountain torrent hundreds of feet below. It crosses this torrent on the Louise Margaret Bridge and then winds through a series of galleries which give the appearance of the cloisters in an ancient monastery.

For the first forty years of their existence Indian railways were not financially successful. They were a drain on the central exchequer, which had to meet deficits, but the development of trade and industry would have been impossible without them. The whole continent of India was opened up by the railways, which made it possible for her produce to be sent to the ports for export, and for imports from overseas to be distributed throughout the country in payment of them. They have prevented the great famines to which India was peculiarly susceptible, when there might be plenty in one part of the country while in another people and cattle were dying in thousands from starvation. They have turned India, with her great historical monuments, into a favourite resort of tourists, each of whom brings his or her contribution to increase the prosperity of the country.

During the past thirty years the railways have contributed large sums towards the revenues of the country. Actually, since 1924-25 they have made a contribution to general revenues amounting to forty-two crores, and this after meeting the loss on strategic lines built for purposes of defence. This loss during this period amounted on an average to about two crores per annum.

Indian railways have adopted for their main line systems a gauge of 5ft. 6in. This gauge is also used in Spain, Portugal, and the Argentine Republic. It is unfortunate that the engineers of the past did not realize the potentialities of this gauge and allow for wider spacing of tracks, which would have admitted the use of stock up to



A British-built Pacific type locomotive drawing a train across the Margaret Louise Bridge in the Chappar Rift, on the Sind-Peshin line of the North Western Railway

12ft. wide against the present standard of 10ft. 6in. However, the possibilities of increasing capacity is still there, though it would mean the expenditure of a considerable sum of money. Actually to-day the electrified suburban railways of the Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways have 12ft. stock in use, the widest stock in the world. The total mileage of 5ft. 6in. gauge is 21,195 miles; in addition there are 17,764 miles of metre gauge and 4,159 miles of narrow gauge, a grand total of 43,118 miles. This total includes, however, some 2,100 miles in Burma, which is now being separated from India.

The railway systems are divided as regards ownership and management as follows:—State-owned and State-managed; State-owned and company-managed; company-owned and company-managed; railways owned and managed by Indian States; railways owned by Indian States, but managed either by the State or by companies; railways owned by District Boards and other bodies but managed by the State or by companies.

Railways are again divided into:—Class I.—Railways with gross earnings of over Rs. 50 lakhs per annum; Class II.—Railways with gross earnings of less than Rs. 50 lakhs but over Rs. 10 lakhs per annum; and Class III.—Railways with less than Rs. 10 lakhs per annum gross earnings.

The reason for this particular division of railways is mainly to decide their voting power at meetings of the Indian Railway Conference Association which regulates the rules for interchange of traffic between railways and other matters. There are fourteen Class I railways and about forty others.

This complicated system is controlled by the Railway Board, the statutory authority over all railways in India, the direct controlling authority over systems aggregating 17,736 miles in length and the predominant partner in systems aggregating 14,045 miles and the guarantor of many smaller systems. At present the Railway Board comprises a Chief Commissioner who is technical adviser to Government on all railway matters and responsible to Government for the efficient management of the railways owned by the State; a Financial Commissioner of railways who, in addition to his duties as a member of the Board, is directly responsible to the Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council for all matters involving expenditure; a member in charge of traffic, and a member in charge of establishment. Before 1932 there was a member in charge of engineering, but since that

date his portfolio has been held by the Chief Commissioner of Railways. The Board is assisted by officers in the various branches designated directors and deputy directors, a secretary, and suitable staff.

The State railway systems are administered by a general manager or, as he is called in India, "agent," to whom is delegated wide powers in the day-to-day administration of his railway. State-owned but company-managed railways and company-owned and company-managed railways are administered by boards of directors sitting in London, each of which has an agent in India responsible to them. The powers delegated to boards of company-managed railways are more or less the same as those delegated to State railway agents, except that they have greater freedom in staff matters. Boards of directors have powers to make delegations to their agents.

With the advent of the Federal Government the executive authority of the Federation in respect of the regulation, construction, management, and operation of railways will be exercised by a Federal Railway Authority. Not less than three-sevenths of the members of this authority will be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion; the remaining members will be appointed by the Governor-General—that is, the Federal Government. From among the members so appointed the Governor-General will at his discretion appoint a president. The Government of India Act, 1935, enjoins that the authority shall act on business principles, due regard being had by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce, and the general public. Further, they shall be guided in the discharge of their duties by such instructions on questions of policy as may be given to them by the Federal Government. If, however, any dispute should arise between the Federal Government and the Federal Railway Authority as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy, the decision of the Governor-General in his discretion shall be final.

No person shall be qualified to be appointed to be a member of the Federal Railway Authority: (a) unless he has had experience in commerce, industry, agriculture, finance, or administration, or (b) if he is or within the twelve months last preceding has been: (i) a member of the Federal or any Provincial Legislature; (ii) in the service of the Crown in India; or (iii) a railway officer in India.

At the head of the executive staff of the authority there shall be a Chief Railway Commissioner, being a person with experience in railway administration, who shall be appointed by the Governor-

THE STORY OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

General exercising his individual judgment after consultation with the authority. The Chief Railway Commissioner shall be assisted in the performance of his duties by a Financial Commissioner, who shall be appointed by the Governor-General—that is, the Federal Government—and by such additional Commissioners, being persons with experience of railway administration, as the authority on the recommendation of the Chief Railway Commissioner may appoint. Though not members of the authority, the Chief Railway Commissioner and Financial Commissioner will have the right to attend all meetings of the authority. The many other provisions in the Act laying down the functions of the authority and its relations with the Federal Government are designed for the purpose of ensuring that the railways of India are run on business principles for the benefit of the country.

HIGHWAYS OLD AND NEW

DURING the excavation of the buried city of Harappa, in the Punjab, a miniature two-wheeled vehicle was unearthed. This copper relic, complete with gabled roof and driver seated in front, is probably one of the oldest representations of a wheeled vehicle in the world, and its existence implies that wheeled traffic rolled along Indian roads as early as 3000 B.C.

The roads and highways which intersect India to-day originated in the "royal roads" which successive Indian monarchs built from their capitals to neighbouring cities. These ancient roads were marked with milestones and signposts. The *Rigveda*, the Indian Epics, and Buddhistic literature make references to the existence of highways. The political treatises of Kautilya, who was Prime Minister to the Mauryan Emperor (322-298 B.C.) contain authoritative evidence of the nature of the early roads, showing the rules which regulated their width, the nature of their traffic, and prescribing punishments for obstruction.

India is well served by its trunk roads. The motorist travelling along any of them to-day may still find himself in agreement with Tavernier, whose travels in India extended from 1640 to 1667. Tavernier contended that he "considered travel in India quite as comfortable as in Europe," even although he normally travelled in a carriage drawn by trotting bullocks. That famous tourist, during the Mogul period of Indian history, traversed sections of highways which form part of the famous trunk roads of to-day.

During the last century and before the introduction of railways a number of trunk roads, bridged and metalled, were constructed and maintained under the supervision of military engineers. These connected the more important military and commercial centres. With the coming of the railways attention was concentrated on the construction of feeder roads, and there was a great increase in metalled roads and roads of local importance. To-day the country is a network

HIGHWAYS OLD AND NEW

of roads, ranging from the well-metalled kind which link the greater cities to rough but useful tracks which connect many of the smaller towns and villages with the modern highways. "Dual roads" are not uncommon; these consist of modern highways, along which the motor-car can speed as in Europe, flanked with "kutchas" roads where bullock carts, camel-drawn wains, and other Oriental conveyances desultorily wander in picturesque procession.

The main trunk roads of India are now being improved. The most famous runs between Calcutta and Jamrud, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass. It passes through Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi, and Peshawar, and the traffic which has passed that way across the centuries makes a cavalcade of Indian and British history. Except that the River Sone, in Bihar, must be crossed on the railway, it is possible to travel this road without interruption during the monsoon. The whole of it from Delhi to the Khyber Pass, a distance of some 600 or 700 miles, has now been surface treated and is comparatively free from dust.

With the exception of the Chambal River, south of Agra, which must be ferried or crossed on a bridge of boats, the whole of the road between Bombay and Delhi is metalled, and is open virtually throughout the year, although liable to occasional interruption owing to flooding from one or two small rivers. There is a good metalled road, generally bridged, from Bombay to Madras, and there are other trunk roads over which it is usually possible to travel at a reasonable speed, although the clouds of dust raised are a nuisance to every one except those in the vehicle which raises them.

There are now in British India about 83,000 miles of metalled or *moorum* (road material) roads, of which 6,500 miles are in cement concrete, asphalt, or tar, and may be described as modern roads. There are also 67,000 miles of motorable unmetalled roads and 150,000 miles of unmetalled roads which are not generally suitable for motor traffic. These figures include the 11,000 miles of roads in Burma, where communications are so largely by waterways.

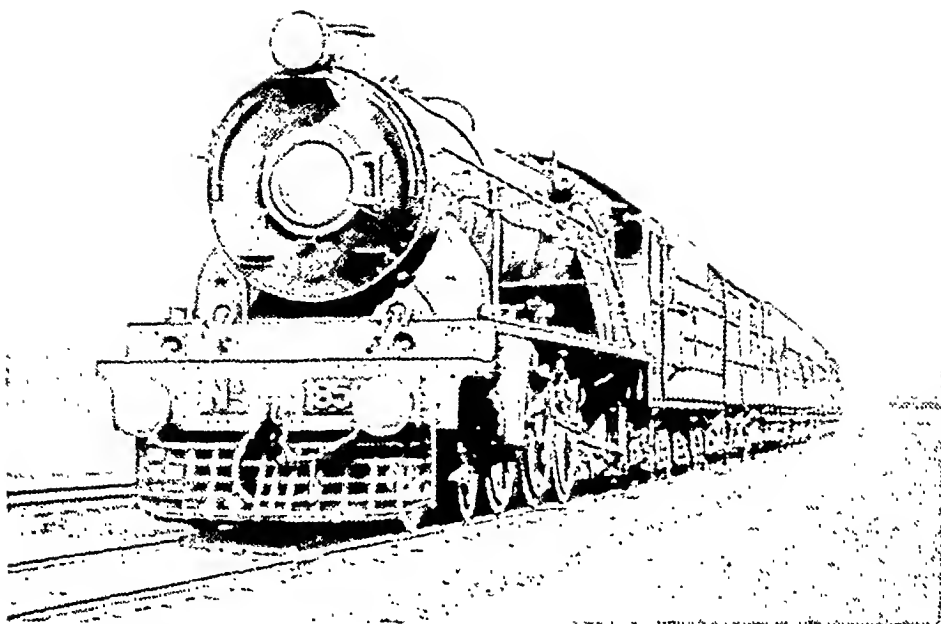
With the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms "Roads" became a provincial transferred subject and were financed wholly from provincial revenues. The report of the Indian Road Development Committee in 1927-28 resulted in the Government of India creating the Central Road Development Fund, which derives

its proceeds from a tax on petrol. This sum is distributed to Provinces and States, on the basis of petrol consumption, and has constituted a large part of the available resources for road improvement and development as opposed to maintenance. A small reserve is retained by the Government of India for special grants for inter-provincial communications and in aid of needy Provinces such as Assam and Sind.

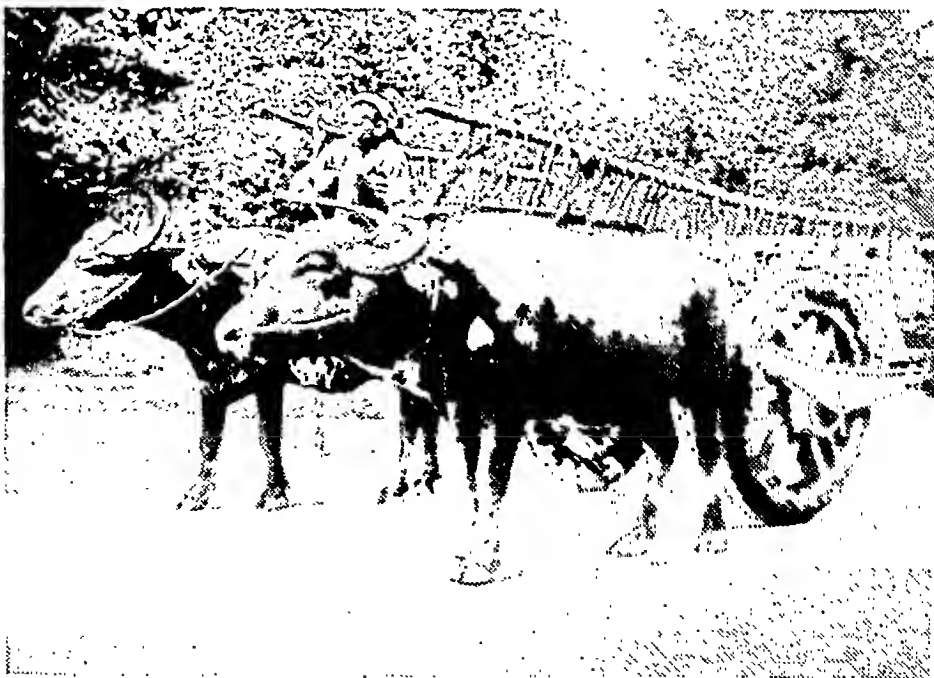
In the process of evolution of Indian communications railways often followed roads along trade routes. The roads then lost their importance for through communication, but were maintained for local needs. With the coming of motor transport they were again used for more than local traffic. About 50 per cent. of the mileage of railways in British India has a metalled road parallel with it, and some 25 per cent. of the metalled road system is parallel with railways; thus the normal difficulties created by road and rail competition are aggravated. Efforts are now being made to correct what has been called the lack of balance in the road system, caused by the superior standard of main roads, often parallel with railways, as compared with local roads, but large sums of money will have to be spent before any substantial change can be brought about.

With the exception of Madras, where the majority of roads are maintained by district boards, the important trunk roads in Provinces are generally maintained from provincial revenues through the Public Works Department, other roads being in charge of district boards. It is in the latter category that the unmetalled rural roads fall, and the condition of these roads leaves much to be desired.

The problem of earth roads is extremely difficult. There is a large mileage of these which is a heritage from the past, when the traffic was light and for various reasons greater attention was paid to their maintenance. With the increase of population, the gradual substitution of the growing of money crops for subsistence farming, and the greater tendency to travel, traffic on these roads has increased to an extent which renders their maintenance in an even reasonably good condition a matter of great difficulty. In the rich alluvial plains, where agriculture is most productive, the loads carried by bullock carts are very great, partly because the country is flat, and so far this traffic has defeated attempts to improve earth roads. A few pneumatic-tyred bullock carts have recently appeared in urban areas; if all bullock carts could be fitted with pneumatic tyres India could have a vastly improved road system without any increase of expenditure.



The Lahore-Karachi mail train drawn by the N.C. class Pacific type locomotive



There are still over 8,000,000 bullock carts in India. A few in the urban areas have been fitted with pneumatic tyres

HIGHWAYS OLD AND NEW

But there are estimated to be 8,500,000 bullock carts in India, generally owned by people who cannot afford to make the change.

The total mileage of roads maintained by public authority is generally sufficient ; the main defect is in the condition of the road system, particularly of the unmetalled portions of it. The mesh of the public road system is in fact reasonably fine if its condition could be improved. Within that mesh there is an immense mileage of village tracks which is not at present maintained upon any organized basis, and the condition of which is generally worse than that of the worst district unmetalled roads. In recent years there has been some weakening of the authority of minor officials and village headmen in such matters, and up to the present there has been no countervailing development of popular village authorities to deal with matters of this sort. Until the residents in the villages themselves take some cooperative and active interest in the improvement of their roads it is almost impossible for any large scale of improvement to be imposed from without.

THE BROADCASTING SERVICE

BROADCASTING in India is at present in a process of development which aims at the expansion of existing services and the creation of new ones. Stations at Delhi, Bombay, and Calcutta are being reorganized and remodelled ; new stations are being established at Madras, Lahore, Dacca, Trichinopoly, and Lucknow ; and the existing station at Peshawar has been brought within the ambit of the national system. The completed scheme will comprise a series of short and medium-wave stations which will virtually serve all parts of the country.

It was originally thought that the best broadcasting policy in India would be to have a few central high-power stations for entertainment purposes, leaving local schemes of small stations for instructional purposes to provincial governments. Recent experience at Delhi, however, has shown that a theoretical distinction between different kinds of broadcasting is of little value ; once a station is set up it is expected to meet the needs of its regular service area as efficiently as possible. On the advice of experts therefore the Government of India decided in favour of a number of small power stations, mainly to serve rural areas, as well as four short-wave stations at the main centres to provide as adequate a service as possible over the whole country.

This policy is best suited to the needs of broadcasting at the present stage of its development in India. The scheme will give a good service to as dense a population, rural and urban, as it is possible to do with the funds now available. In determining the location of the various stations care has been taken that every major province is assured of a satisfactory service for all practical purposes. The proposed distribution will also enable the provision of programmes suited to the different linguistic areas, and the stations will be available for purely rural broadcasts when desired.

A separate office of broadcasting now exists within the Department of Industries and Labour, and Mr. Lionel Fielden, formerly of the staff of the B.B.C., is Controller of Broadcasting in the organization known as All-India Radio (A.I.R.). The intention is to supply services in the vernacular for the entire country, allowing for the linguistic and cultural claims of each area ; to make the short-wave services of Great Britain and Europe available to Indian listeners by relaying ; and to interpret India to the world through the facilities which the short-wave system will offer to listeners in other countries. A short-wave relaying set is being installed at Delhi, where a suitable building for the studio, offices, and research activities of the national organization is being built.

India has twelve main and more than 200 recognized languages, and these are sub-divided into a great many dialects. The language problem thus adds to the complexities of Indian broadcasting. The immediate purpose is to meet the needs of those using the main languages, although the question of providing for dialect speakers is receiving close and constant attention. The authorities are basing their programmes on the most important literary languages of the country, which are Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, and Telugu. English is used at stated times on all programmes.

The traditional lore of the country is being adapted to the new medium and Indians are becoming more and more interested in broadcasting. The numbers of licensee-holders are continually increasing and have doubled during the past year or so. A magazine conducted by the broadcasting service is growing in popularity and circulation. A news service, now being expanded, is a daily feature of the programmes from Delhi, and in time this will be linked up with other stations to give a news service at stated times simultaneously throughout the country.

Experiments have been made in designing programmes for the entertainment and edification of the rural population. The main difficulties met with have been the choice of a suitable hour when villagers are free to collect round the community set, and the question of broadcasting village music, which is naturally the only kind of music that appeals to the peasants. Village music has never been recorded, and seldom studied, and village minstrels lack the necessary qualities for good broadcasting performers. But the village programme from Delhi is gaining in popularity, and dialogues, which were recently introduced, are greatly enjoyed by the villagers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

THE Government of India Act, 1935, is sometimes criticized on the score of its intricacy and elaboration. Its fundamental principles and main structure are, indeed, simple. But the criticism has justification. The Act is intricate because the problems with which it deals are complicated, and because it has been so drafted that its particular provisions are to be read subject to other, near or remote, particular provisions, or subject to groups of provisions, or, in important instances, merely "subject to the provisions of this Act." The Act is elaborate because detailed prescriptions had to be made for a number of important matters. For example, almost one-sixth of the bulk of the Act itself is devoted to the Civil Services.

Constitution Acts of standard pattern deal with the public services in a simple manner. Existing incumbents of offices have their rights and immunities maintained, or have compensation secured to them for their loss; the regulation of the services in other respects is left to the exercise of the appropriate legislative and executive jurisdictions operating in this regard as freely as for all other purposes.

The Government of India Act, 1935, recognizes the general principle that the conditions of service of persons serving in a civil capacity under Governments in India may be regulated by Acts of the appropriate Legislature in India. But for historical, political and practical reasons the solution of the problem could not be left just there. The commitments of the Crown in the past to its servants in India have been unprecedented in their nature and scope. The interest of Parliament in the correlation of political life and of executive vitality, although not exclusive, is vivid and continuing. The need of India to express its political consciousness and plans with the help of efficient instrumentalities is great and peculiar. India, a vast and poor country, has always been faced and will still be faced by a choice between two methods. It may employ a numerous, close-fitting and, consequently, somewhat inefficient staff. It may, on the other hand, be equipped with an executive smaller in numbers, higher

in qualifications, and more thinly spread. There is general agreement that the services must still be highly efficient.

Accordingly, the new Act requires that the jurisdictions of appropriate Legislatures in India for the regulation of conditions of service under the corresponding Governments shall be exercised subject to a large number of provisions made in itself. These provisions cannot, of course, exhaust the whole subject of the relations between popular Ministers, elected Legislatures and the people on the one hand and the services on the other. They cannot give the atmosphere. They do a great deal. But the questions which one considering the future of the services must ask himself are two: What does the Act secure to the services? What is the position of the services likely to be in future in respects for which the Act cannot and does not make provision? The second question is possibly the more important.

The prescriptions of the Act go into great detail, securing specific objects and providing for individual services. They take their general character from one or two broad principles which are laid down, and from four cardinal provisions. It is a principle of universal application that office is held during his Majesty's pleasure. Tenure may not be disturbed by an authority subordinate to the authority which created it. Disciplinary action of a serious nature must await a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against it. The right to at least one appeal is secured.

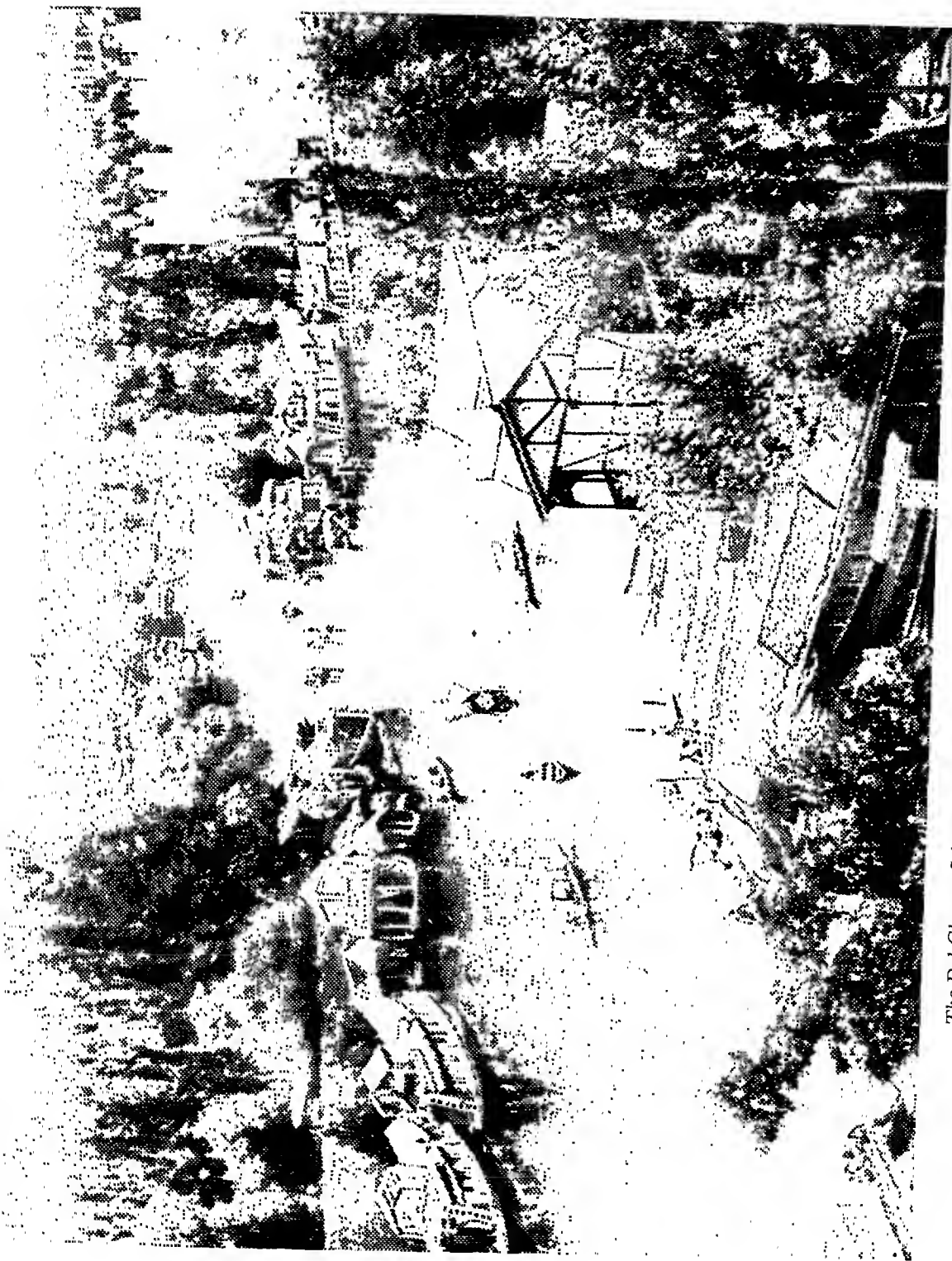
The first of the four cardinal provisions reserves to the Secretary of State the recruitment and regulation of the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service (Civil), and the Indian Police. The conditions of these services will be regulated by rules which will not, however, as respects remuneration or pension derogate from the terms of service existing at the date of an officer's first appointment. The second provision requires the regulation of all other services to be conducted according to standing rules made by the appropriate authority, which shall enjoin regard for existing conditions of service of those already holding office. Further, Governments must act in the recruitment and discipline of services, other than subordinate services, in consultation with independent and impartial Public Service Commissions. Finally the Governor-General and the Governors, each in his own field, are charged with a personal responsibility to secure the rights and safeguard the legitimate interests of the public services.

These provisions, worked out in considerable detail, secure a large measure of protection. They amount to guarantees which are probably without precedent elsewhere, and are clearly the maximum of statutory security which is practicable. But the protection is executive. The Act does not make the rights of the services justiciable, whatever measure of discretion it may leave to Legislatures in India to do so, within the ambit left by its own provisions. The services, however, are protected against malicious suits.

So much for statutory provisions. But the extra-statutory position of the services is of almost equal importance. Here assessment must be made without prejudice. No facile assumption can be made that a catastrophic change in conditions of service must now take place, much less that a struggle must at once set in between, on the one hand, the statutory protections now given by Parliament to the services and, on the other, responsible government by Indian politicians swayed only by a national bias. It would be as justifiable to assume that whatever change occurs will be largely to the advantage of the services. The fact, however, is that during at least the last twenty-five years a great change has steadily been wrought in the position of and among the services. It is only when the position now reached is fully appreciated that the position which is likely to be reached when the Act of 1935 comes into operation can safely be forecast.

The era which is best represented by the standard biographies of great public servants is long past. That was an era of benevolent autocracy. Civil servants were, or were apt to regard themselves as, the successors of victorious soldiers and the exponents of an inspired political ethic. Policies sprang from an official brain alone or in official circles, and were executed by Englishmen. That era passed away not because the ethic was unsound or because executive standards and practice were inadequate, but because of their success. The ideas of England changed as time passed, as her experience of India, of the Dominions, and of herself developed, and as world conditions altered. Above all, India grew astonishingly and in great measure because of the old benevolent autocratic government.

The era of public service known to those now or recently holding appointments in India is quite different. Possibly the simplest way to understand it is to regard it at the outset as the era of administration in the face of alert representative institutions. These representative institutions rest upon and are vivified by a public opinion



The Dal Ghat at Srinagar, the beautifully situated and picturesque capital of Kashmir

which in competence and eagerness has no real counterpart in the earlier era, and which profoundly influences both the headquarters and the local officials. The Governor-General and his Council and provincial Governors in Council not only mould and modify policies which they have themselves conceived in the light of the opinions of the popular legislatures and the public; they regularly adopt policies originated and pressed upon them by resolutions of the legislatures or by sections of the people. For the transferred provincial subjects the change has gone even further, for the policy is that of popular Ministers, and for all subjects the change has made its way into the districts. The district officer not only carries into effect a policy determined at headquarters under strong popular influence and often initiated by it; his whole administration is conducted under a similar local influence. It is a great change that the standard of public intelligence and interest in districts is so much higher than it was in the earlier era. But when local self-government through district and municipal boards passed in all provinces under popular control, and, in almost all provinces, its execution was entrusted to non-officials, the change became more immediate. For popular opinion, competent, and actually empowered to conduct local self-government, could not be debarred from its natural influence upon all administration. The district officer, therefore, acts under orders from a higher authority itself responsive to popular opinion and works in the midst of local influence more widespread, keener, and more competent than anything known in the past.

But the change must not be understood in any exaggerated way. It would be wrong to receive the impression that the services live merely in an atmosphere of criticism, or meet with nothing but hostility, or that initiative in the services is crippled or extinguished. Two characteristics of Indian mentality appear to be ineradicable—namely, the demand for personality in administration, and kindness for the disinterested Englishman. Criticism and influence are, in Indian eyes, one thing; administration and responsibility are another. They are an accomplished technique associated with personality.

Accordingly the official lives and works in conditions quite unlike those of last century. His domestic conditions are incomparably better than those of the past. His health is better. His comfort is greater. Pay, leave, amenities of life have all been much improved. Socially he no longer makes a class altogether of his own. There are many more of his kind in all economic and racial communities,

and they bulk more and more largely in his society. Officially he lives in more intricate conditions, in which he has to take account of more diverse and acute opinions and desires, and to find himself influenced more decisively in his actions. But he has still his great individual contribution to make. He may not lend himself to the biographer as his great predecessors did. But he has a life no less honourable, and he has a scope no less than, though different from, that of the men of an earlier era. And he is still, in the main, responsible not to the governed but to Parliament and its agents.

Nevertheless the issue between authority and influence is set, and, if there were no Act, would demand a solution. On the side of the services there are the growing technicality of administration and the general recognition of the need for high efficiency and impartiality in the execution of public business. On the other side is the whole development of representative institutions, of competence in criticism, debate, and self-government, and notably of national spirit. How far, under conditions obtaining at the present time, non-official influence might be able to go in creating in the public services a measure of subordination to itself is a hazardous speculation. But the clearer probability is that the services would, under the constitution now about to be replaced, in a few years' time find themselves in a less favourable position than that which they now occupy.

The Act of 1935, then, will introduce new conditions into circumstances already in flux. Will they be, from the point of view of the services, better conditions or worse? The answer given by Indians is that the services will be much better off. In the services themselves there are those who fear that the contrary answer must be given, for the new popular governments must insist on their authority and on the subordination of the technical to the political executive.

Any answer must necessarily be speculative. But it is possible to avoid undue optimism or pessimism, and there are several assuring features which are already clear. The services which, since the introduction of dyarchy into provinces, have worked under popular ministers, have enjoyed security, respect, initiative, and authority. Public Service Commissions, where they exist, have protected services against merely political or capricious recruitment and control, and have established themselves as a recognized feature of Indian polity. The personal interest of the Governor in the services is recognized. There is no desire to victimize them.

Accordingly, an answer might take the following form. First, the statutory protections given by the Act will be effective. Indeed it is very doubtful if they will be seriously challenged or resented. The letter of the law alone has great weight with Indian criticism, which is itself so largely legal, and the protections are of a nature which favours their enforcement. Things like formal hearings, appeals, and Public Service Commissions are well established, and public sentiment is repugnant to dishonouring obligations to men now in service. Criticism of the statutory protections will be devoted rather to securing their future amendment, particularly as regards the Secretary of State's services, than to their avoidance. Fears have sometimes been expressed that the revenues of India will be so managed that resources will not be, or be made, available to meet what is due to the services. These fears are not well based, for default in that regard could occur only if default had been made in other regards for which neither Parliament nor legislatures in India would permit it.

Second, the amenities of the services depend as well on economic as on political conditions. They are not likely to be decreased. But socially the services must expect the diminution of their exclusiveness to continue, and its pace to be accelerated. The services would not themselves wish, even if that were possible, to recreate a purely official social life. They must be prepared for a society more general, and more open in all its levels to Indians official and non-official. But till Indian domestic conditions greatly alter, the society in which officials live will take its distinctive character from them and from England.

Third, the political conditions of public services in India will at least be better than those to which present tendencies are leading, and may well be better than those which now prevail. The attitude of legislatures and of formal public opinion can no longer be mainly critical. The main function of criticism will be the guidance of Ministers, and the services may look for that spirit of respect and cooperation which is natural to India. Criticism in India is preponderatingly based upon experience in the public services and in British courts of law. Critics are thus mostly pupils of the services. Political conditions of some excitement have placed them in a position of opposition to the executive. But the new legislatures will find that their general attitude to the instrumentalities of their Governments must be that of support.

Dyarchy has shown that the relations of responsible Ministers and of self-respecting services can be honourable to both. There are no party leaders in India now who do not recognize that policies rashly proclaimed in opposition must be anxiously reconsidered with expert assistance before they can be put into operation by a responsible Government. Those who are likely to be Ministers in the new Governments feel their credit at stake in the maintenance of an administration which will not fall palpably short of the present administration, and should indeed strive to excel it. They and the legislatures are aware of their inacquaintance with the great adventure of government. Accordingly the services may expect adequate scope in the details of administration and an honourable cooperation in the determination of policy.

But among the services themselves there is likely to be some readjustment. It is not probable that the District Officer will ever lose his cardinal position. The conception of a single representative of Government in each district, interested in every matter which affects the masses, is natural to Indian sentiment, and of great importance on practical grounds. Governments at headquarters will not themselves be mere aggregates of technical departments, nor is district administration likely to lack coordination of all activities, however specialized, under one head. In particular, it is unlikely that Ministers will rashly translate the theory of separating executive and judicial functions into a practice which would dissipate the District Officer's present sole responsibility for the general peace and good government of his district.

But technical departments may well find themselves in a clearer focus. The Indian Police, above all, may look to the future with satisfaction. The Act contains provisions safeguarding the organization of Police Forces, and thus securing the Inspector-General of Police in a due independence of political pressure in his technical administration. It is equally important that the Police may now look to working in cooperation with a popular executive rather than in face of criticism based only upon political considerations but nevertheless persistent and not infrequently embittered.

PROGRESS IN FLYING

THE possibilities of aviation in India have long been recognized. Except for periods of the monsoon the climate is ideal for flying. There are large distances to be covered between the centres of population, and over the area of a subcontinent there is uniform administration.

Captain Sefton Brancker, who was later Air Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker and the first to hold the office of Director of Civil Aviation in Great Britain, foresaw the possibilities and the military potentialities of the air arm when, in January, 1911, he flew as a passenger on Army manoeuvres, at Aurangabad, in a Bristol biplane. He was the first air passenger in India. The decade following the Great War saw very little progress, and such aeroplanes as were flown represented individual pioneer efforts. While the aeroplane has a great future in the country, there are still many difficulties to be overcome before it takes its rightful place in first-class transport.

Except among the wealthy few, the general standard of living in India is low. The country is marked with a conservatism that lack of contact with enterprising neighbours intensifies. So far no programme of Air Force expansion has been devised, and such aeroplanes as are at present considered necessary are concentrated in the North-West. Moreover, there are very real difficulties in the way of the continued maintenance of aircraft in India, which is so far removed from the manufacturing centres. The small number of aircraft in the country and the variety of types do not make matters easier for the operator. The black cotton soil, found in many parts of India, which in the dry season may look perfect, becomes useless quagmire in the monsoon, while the construction of an all-weather aerodrome is expensive. With no aeroplanes in evidence, there is hesitation in the preparation of aerodromes. Until the air routes are equipped for night flying the man of affairs will prefer an all-night train journey to spending two or three hours of his day in an aeroplane.

In 1927 Imperial Airways first reached India, but were unable to surmount the political difficulties presented by Persia until nearly three years later. The Government of India, alive to the future, decided to encourage aviation by the establishment of subsidized flying clubs at important centres throughout the country. The first of these came into being just about the same time as the first British aeroplane started to call regularly at Karachi.

The next step was the extension of the service across India to the East. At first it was hoped to reserve the Indian section of the route for the benefit of a wholly Indian enterprise. A period of extreme financial stringency intervened, and by the time that the minimum work of aerodrome preparation had been done to make the trans-India route feasible, the international character of this important airway was recognized. The K.L.M. were the first to fly a regular service across India, quickly followed in 1933 by the joint service of Imperial Airways and the subsidiary company, Indian Trans-Continental Airways. Meanwhile, in 1932, Tata Sons decided to operate a mail service from Karachi to Madras *via* Bombay. They succeeded in obtaining a mail contract from the Government of India, the postal payments being covered by the air mail surcharge. While in the first phase of operation this service was run at a loss, as the mail weights on the main service steadily increased so did the company's receipts rise to a paying level. The service has run with great regularity since its inception and it is undoubtedly one of the successful pioneer air services which served as an example to the world. During the last three years the progress which has outstripped all else has been the development of air traffic on the main route to and from India.

Tata Sons have been the only Indian air service to benefit commensurately with this expansion. Indian National Airways began to operate independent passenger-carrying services between Calcutta and Dacca, and Calcutta and Rangoon. Unfortunately the traffic did not develop as hoped and with the duplication of Imperial Airways' service beyond Calcutta in 1935 the company were obliged to cut their losses and close down these services, which were the first and the only serious attempt to run a purely Indian passenger-carrying air service. Indian National Airways also established an unsubsidized flying school at Rangoon and after more than a year of good work this establishment had also to be closed. The company started a feeder service between Karachi and Lahore in December, 1934. This service has continued in operation with commendable regularity, and it is

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noteworthy that with an adequate ground organization the aircraft have frequently flown the Karachi-Jacobabad section by night in order to effect the air mail connexion. Unfortunately at the start of this service the company were at once faced with duplication to conform to that of the main service. The mail loads per trip were not as great as had been expected, and the 1935 results showed a loss. In 1936 the Government of India decided as a temporary measure to grant the company special financial assistance for the continuance of the service.

In 1934 Irrawaddy Flotilla and Airways was formed and began the experimental operation of seaplanes at Rangoon. Himalaya Airways was also formed chiefly to undertake "joy riding" and to provide a pilgrim service to Badrinath, in the hills. In this way aviation loomed as a practical reality to many who had never seen an aeroplane before.

These services have achieved a high standard of safety and regularity. There has been no fatal accident nor even an injury to passenger or pilot. Most of the air mail delays about which there have been complaints have arisen outside India. Unfortunately the safety record of the flying clubs does not show up so well. There have been a good many accidents of a preventible type due to inexperienced pilots with more confidence than skill.

Among the bright portents for the future, first and foremost must rank the Empire Air Mail scheme. The surcharge on air mail is to be abolished at a stroke. All first-class external mail will go by air. There will be five services a week between India and Europe and the time of transit between Karachi and London will be reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ days if not less. The effect of this scheme upon the commerce of the country and the outlook of its people will be incalculable. As seafaring has brought a wider outlook to the inhabitants of maritime States so will air-faring create a more international outlook. The two dependent feeder services, Karachi-Madras, which will probably extend to Colombo, and Karachi-Lahore will at the same time be expanded to conform to the main service, and passenger accommodation should be available at least on the more important sections of these routes.

To meet the future traffic demands the Government of India in 1934 gave a capital grant for civil aviation works, the development

programme to be spread over a number of years. It is hoped that by 1938 most of these works and the accompanying expansion in the aviation organization will be completed in time to meet the demand of the Empire scheme. For financial reasons the development has had to be confined to the trans-India route and the two feeder routes

The active interest which the Princes of India have taken in aviation and in developing aviation within their territories is the second most hopeful feature. There are more civil landing grounds in the Indian States than there are in British India, and State officials have found the aeroplane of value for touring purposes. There is no doubt that there is a growing appreciation in all circles of the services which the aeroplane can render, and for this India is greatly indebted to the late Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, and Lady Willingdon, who always travelled by air when they could. Since 1932 the Viceroy has had a Government machine at his disposal. Apart from this, touring by air has hitherto been confined to the few enthusiasts of the flying clubs, but recently tours by air have been carried out by the Home Member and the Member of the Industries and Labour Department under whom the Civil Aviation direction is placed. The maintenance of a charter organization in the face of sporadic demand for a varying range of requirements is not a commercial proposition, and the Government of India have granted special assistance as a temporary measure to Indian National Airways, who undertake this work at Delhi. At the same time a greater local interest in the establishment of landing grounds which are fit for use by commercial aircraft is a necessity if this traffic is to develop. One may hazard the guess, however, that no real progress is likely to be made until the railways interest themselves in air transport. A good sign for the future is that the Hyderabad State Railway is considering aviation development as part of a general plan of transport coordination.

THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN INDIAN LIFE

BY SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

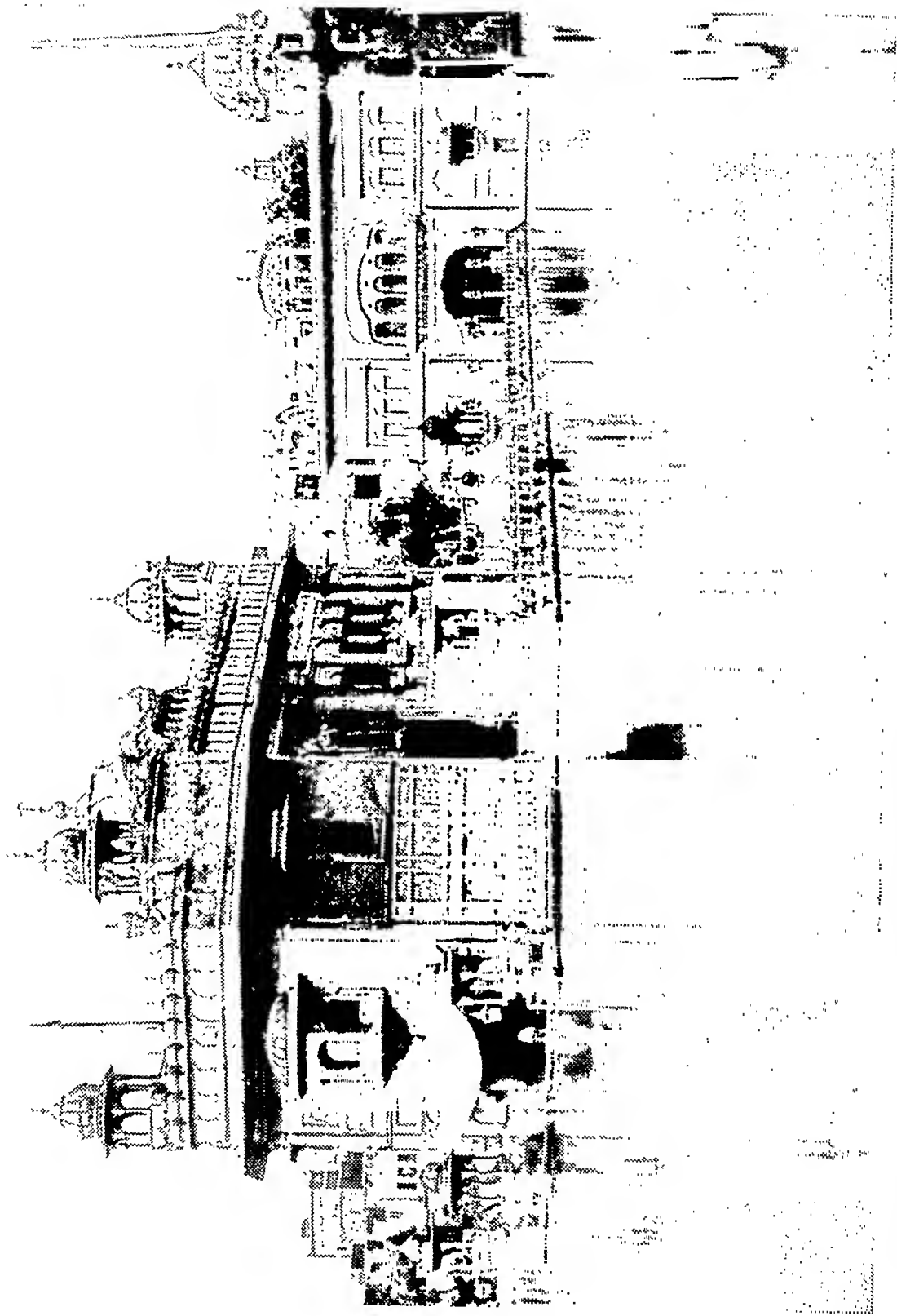
IN India religion occupies the supreme place. Owing to the presence of the British in India and our supposed concentration on promoting the material ends of life, as well as to the fact that we have had to preserve a strict neutrality in religious matters, the impression has been made upon India that we are indifferent to religion and that our attention is absorbed in government and business. So the Indians have to a certain extent been discouraged in their natural religious bent. Yet there are many indications of the great inclination of the Indians towards religion. For example, every Maharajah believes himself to be a Maharajah by Divine right. Through having achieved merit in a previous incarnation, he has been reincarnated by God as a Maharajah in the present life. An old-fashioned Maharajah will, even in telegrams, be making constant references to God, to his submission to the will of God, or to his thankfulness to God. The word "God" is constantly on his lips; and not merely as a matter of formality, but coming naturally from his inner feelings. He may be a bad man in many ways; still, he is imbued with this fundamental sense of dependence upon the Divine. And so real is his reverence for religion that when some distinguished Swami comes to his capital he will treat him with special honour, and even place the holy man in the highest position and take a lower place himself.

Such a ruler was the old Maharajah of Kashmir, who was highly respected by all his subjects, even though 90 per cent. of them were Moslems. A living example is the Maharajah of Mysore, who is known all over India as a deeply religious man and venerated for his piety. A more modern type is the Maharajah Gackwar of Baroda, who, in spite of his wide travels, not only in India but in Europe

and America, has retained his devotion to religion, even though it may be of a wider type than the religion, say, of the old Maharajah of Kashmir.

The Ministers of Indian rulers are also often men of deep religious feeling. Such a one was Nanak Chand, the Minister of the Indore State some years ago. He was a man of unusual ability in administrative affairs, yet by far his greatest interest was in religion ; and his main desire was to make it the basis of the education in the State schools. At the present day a Moslem example is Sir Mirza M. Ismail, the Prime Minister of the Hindu State of Mysore, where grants are made to aid the efforts of various faiths, including Christian churches and missions.

These examples of the attachment which Indians have to religion have all been taken from the higher classes of society. But by far the greater portion of the population of India are cultivators of the soil. Does the Indian villager, absorbed as he must necessarily be in gaining a bare living, take any real interest in religion ? What part does religion play in the life of the ordinary cultivator ? At first sight it may seem that it plays but a small part. He works hard in his fields and after all his labour he has scarcely enough on which to sustain himself. Perhaps half the population of India is badly underfed. It cannot therefore be expected of the cultivator that he should expend much of his thought upon religion. Yet undoubtedly he is far more influenced in a religious direction than would appear. He spends nearly the whole of his life in closest contact with Nature, with Mother Earth, with his crops and his cattle, with the rain and the sunshine. And this insensibly affects him. Nature, it is true, is sometimes cruel : one season the rain will descend in excess and spoil his crops or perhaps wash them all away in one great inundation ; at another season rain will cease when crops have begun to sprout, the sun will come out, there will be bare skies for months and famine will devastate the land. Still, those are exceptions, and exceptions due, as he thinks, to some fault or misdeed of his own. In the main Mother Earth is very kindly ; for one grain which he sows in her bosom she gives him fifty or a hundredfold return. And he loves her. No one who has seen a villager in times of great emotion—great joy or great distress—seen him with his hands together in an attitude of prayer to heaven will doubt his ingrained religious feeling. And hard though the peasants' lot is, they have also their times of intense religious enjoyment, when they will go off in great parties to religious festivals and there



The Golden Temple at Amritsar, the religious capital of the Sikhs. It is encased in gilded copper and is entered by four doorways, one on each side, with doors plated with finely wrought silver

started a movement which was originated by that great religious genius, Ramakrishna, and is spreading widely in India. Among the Moslems there has been a great stir in the educational world ; and also a modern religious movement known as the Ahmadya Movement is very active. Besides this, there are living at the present moment individuals who have the greatest influence upon the religious life of the country. Of these Gandhi is perhaps the best known ; but even more spiritual are such persons as Arabindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and, among Moslems, Sir Mahomed Iqbal.

The absorptive and tolerant spirit of Hinduism, with its fine intuition to the inmost working of the Divine government of the world , the Moslem spirit of simple faith in God and the community of men ; the Christian spirit of joy and gladness, of peace and good will among men, and of compassion for the poor and afflicted, may all be expected to deepen under mutual interaction. So religion in the future as in the past will probably occupy the supreme place in Indian life, above, though informing, all political, economic, and social life. Moreover India, as the meeting-place of all the great religions, will play an increasingly prominent part in the religious life of the world. Meeting, not in conflict but for mutual stimulation, adherents of the various religions will converge on India as lovers of art concentrate on France and lovers of music on Germany. Then not only may religion occupy the supreme place in Indian life, but India may occupy the supreme place in the world's religious life.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN THE NEW REGIME

BY WILLIAM PATON

WHEN the new Indian Constitution was being debated in Parliament some rather wild statements were made by opponents of the Government proposals to the effect that under the new conditions Christian work in India would be gravely jeopardized and Indian Christians threatened with persecution. The opinions both of Indian Christians and of missionaries, so far as they have been stated, have never given colour to these suggestions. Missionaries are not, as a rule, concerned with political matters, and do not normally enter the lists of public discussion. It is, however, quite certain that the majority of them are in broad sympathy with the ideals of a sane nationalism. They realize that every great people desires to govern itself, and further, that for the Christian Church to be identified with the subjection of the Indian people must be a serious handicap to the growth of the Church. They are aware that in China, in spite of the chaos which at times has afflicted great areas of that country, Christian work has been carried forward, and they look to the future, recognizing that new difficulties may beset their work, but without real apprehension.

Two facts need to be borne in mind in any consideration of the relation of Christianity in India to the new Constitution. There is, first, the rapid growth of the Church in all its branches in India. During the last census period, while the population of India increased by 10 per cent., the Christians increased by more than 30 per cent. It is well known that among the depressed classes, and not only among them, there has in recent years been a marked turning towards the message, teaching, and life of the Christian Church. If present tendencies continue, the next census will show a still larger proportionate growth in the Church. In the second place, nearly every missionary organization has merged a good deal of its activities into

the fabric of the indigenous Church. The ways by which this is done necessarily differ with the different types of ecclesiastical organization, but it is broadly true that in every type of Indian Christianity the leadership of Indian Christians is increasingly conspicuous. Responsibilities formerly held by missionaries are more and more being held by Indians. The important question now is not merely "What do the missions think of the new regime?" but "What do the Indian Christians think?"

It is no easier to say what opinion the Christian Churches in India hold with regard to the new Constitution than it is to make any such statement for India as a whole. Though the Christian Church has 28 per cent. literacy as compared with less than 10 per cent. in the country as a whole, it still has a great mass of members for whom constitutional change can have only the very slightest meaning. If, however, we turn to the expressed views of those who, by education and position, may be regarded as the spokesmen of Indian Christianity, a fairly definite line of thought emerges. It is similar to that associated with the Indian Liberals. For instance, at the recent meeting of the All India Christian Conference, a body set up to give Indian Christians the opportunity of expressing themselves in public affairs, disappointment was expressed in regard to the degree of freedom granted by the new Constitution, but there was a clear disposition to cooperate with the new reforms and to work them for all they were worth. Indian Christians are not, as a whole, apprehensive about the extension of self-government. While we may recognize the limited character of the vocal representative bodies, it is nevertheless remarkable that the Indian Christian leaders (at least, the Protestants) continuously protested against communal electorates, pleaded for a general electorate with reserved seats, and only urged their own communal claims when it was plain that the communal principle would be the foundation of the new system.

It is not sufficiently recognized in England that a good deal of the most intelligent Christianity in India is deeply suspicious of the system of communal electorates, and deeply apprehensive of the growing power of communalism in India. These fears are both for the effect of communalism upon the welfare of the Indian Christian community, and for its effect upon Christian evangelistic work and the expansion of the Church.

To some extent in all parts of India, but markedly in the Punjab, public posts and Government grants are being administered on the

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basis of the proportion of population represented by each community group. It is plain that such a body as the Indian Christians, which, though the third of the communities of India, is only 6,500,000 in number—less than 4,000,000 of them in British India—and therefore only a small fraction in each province, must suffer when posts and grants are given on a population basis. The fact that it is more educated than others will be ignored, and nothing will count except numbers. There is much bitterness among educated younger Christians in the north of India when they see their chances in life, at least in public service, severely affected by considerations which have nothing to do with ability.

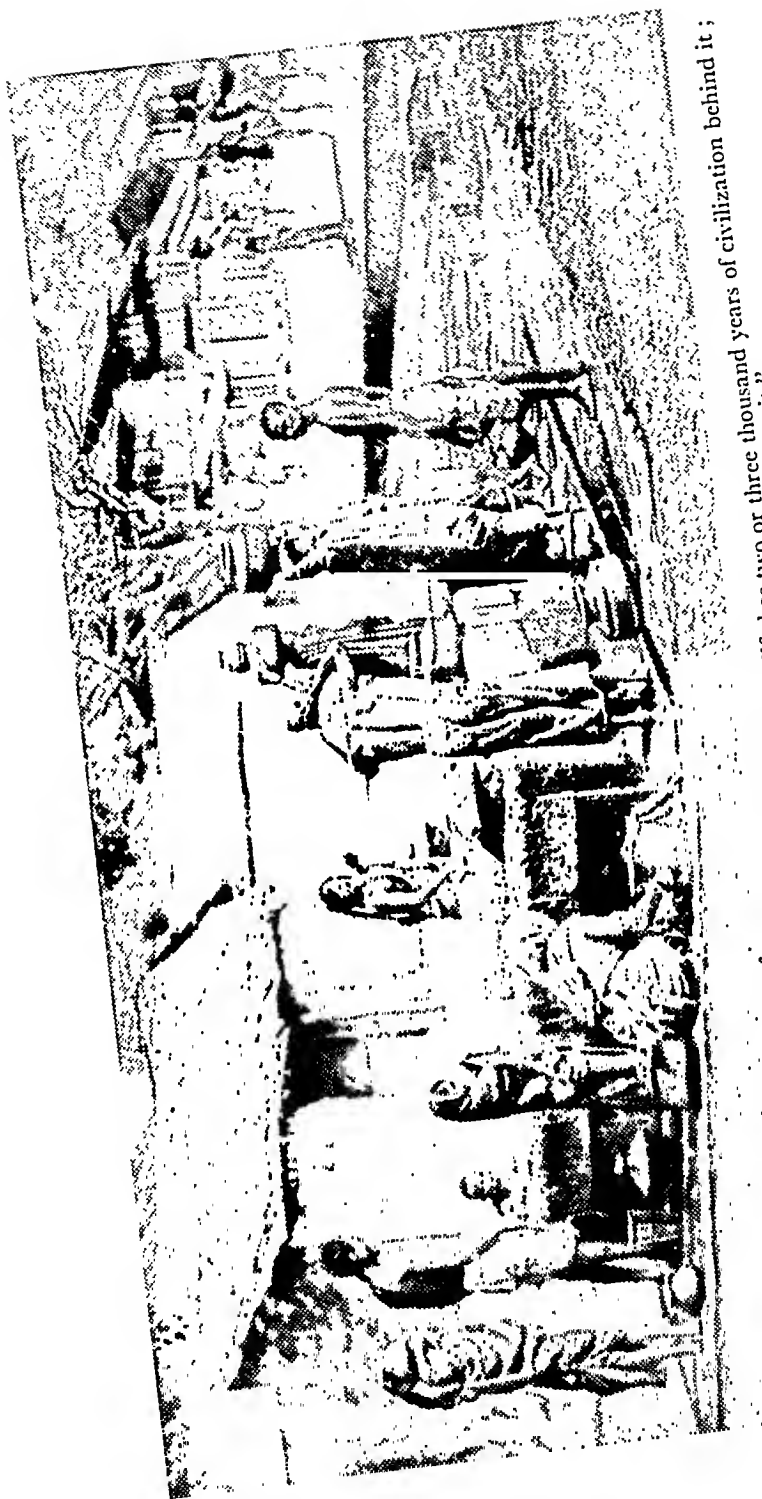
More important perhaps is the fear felt by many of the finest Indian Christian leaders that the evangelistic witness of the Church will be affected by the system of communal electorates. The Bishop of Dornakal, perhaps the best known Indian Christian, expressed strong dissent from the Government proposals on this point, fearing that, if a Hindu realized that by becoming a professed disciple of Jesus Christ he would have to vote in a different political constituency, the spiritual appeal of the Church would be obscured.

The maintenance of many institutions—colleges, schools, hospitals, and the like—carried on by Christian agencies in India, is more likely to be threatened by the communal virus than by the general progress of nationalism and self-government. It is likely that the Indianization of Christian colleges and schools will be accelerated, just as in China the heads of the Christian colleges are all now Chinese. It is conceivable that less generous grants may be made to Christian institutions by Provincial Governments. In the past, few grants have been given, not because the institutions were Christian but because they were educationally adequate. The danger here lies in the communal spirit. At the present moment a single Mohammedan college in the Punjab receives more grant-in-aid than four Christian colleges, though the number of Mohammedans and Hindus in the Christian colleges immensely outweighs that of the Christians. While these difficulties must be faced, Indian Christians and missionaries on the whole feel that they do not constitute a serious menace. On the other hand, they believe that if the new Constitution brings about in India a release of energy and public spirit for the great national tasks, the Christians will have their chance. Any moral vigour, spiritual insight, strength of character, and clearness of judgment

which Christian training gives to men and women will have their chance, and will all be needed in the India of to-morrow.

It may be worth adding that under the new conditions Christian colleges and schools will be, in one important respect, different from virtually all others in the country. The policy of Indianization in education must inevitably, and rightly, lead to the virtual disappearance of the British educators from Government colleges. But the Christian colleges, while the great majority of the teachers in them are Indian, will continue to enlist some of the best of the younger men and women from the British Isles and from North America. They will thus offer a visible example of the cooperation of Indians with Western teachers in a common enterprise. In this respect they may prove even more valuable as instruments of reconciliation than in the past.

What the prospects of Christian evangelistic work will be under the new conditions it is hard to say. In some circles of Hindu nationalism there is strong and even bitter opposition to the growth of Christianity. Mr. Gandhi, for instance, resents the "Mass Movements"—that is, group or community movements—of outcastes and contiguous castes towards Christianity, holding to his principle of Swadeshi—"our own country." A leading journalist and social reformer has urged that the King-Emperor should be proclaimed "Defender of the Faiths" of India, and that as a corollary to this declaration proselytism should be forbidden. But it is easy to exaggerate the importance of such pronouncements; they are, in any case, incompatible with the elementary principles of religious freedom, for a man enjoys religious liberty not merely when he is unhindered in the practice of traditional worship, but when he has the right to change his religion in obedience to conviction. The legal aspect of conversion was cleared up in India many years ago, and whatever private persecution a man may face, his path is not further obstructed by the legal obstacles that, for instance, Moslem personal law in certain other countries puts before the convert. Any unfair methods used by Christian missionaries would be hotly resented, and it may be that either Hindu nationalist or Moslem communalist feeling may lead to false accusations of that kind being made. But the fundamentals of the Christian position in India are clearly safeguarded by the laws of the country, and the more plainly the Indian Church is seen to be Indian the more certainly will its witness be heeded.



A scene at the communal well in an Indian village. "In India village life has two or three thousand years of civilization behind it ; and the grace as well as the dust of time is everywhere upon it."

THE CHANGED STATUS OF WOMEN

BY B. SHIVA RAO

IT is difficult sometimes for a permanent resident in India to realize, without a considerable effort, the great change which has come over that country since the War with the emergence of her women into active public life. One has only to look back over recent events to the time immediately preceding the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and recall the protests against the absolute denial of the franchise to women (subsequently modified to permissive action by the Legislatures on an affirmative resolution) to appreciate the distance travelled during these eighteen years. When Madras took the lead in 1921 among British Indian provinces in giving the vote to women the action of the legislative council was commended as a courageous step forward. Other provinces followed the good example of Madras, though for a time the Moslem *bloc* in the Bengal Council and the orthodox elements in Bihar would not allow these two provinces to come into line with the rest; but within a decade all the Legislatures in India had been won over to a recognition of woman's right to vote.

The voice of vigorous protest is once again heard at women's meetings and conferences against what they consider to be an injustice perpetrated in the new Constitution. The women look forward and somewhat far forward, and they are impatient with the restrictions on their political rights. Indirect elections to the Federal Legislature, the reservation of special seats, and the extension of separate electorates based on communal distinctions make no appeal to Indian women of education. But one hardly ever finds an appreciative reference, in their speeches and writings, to the fact that in the matter of franchise the number of women voters will jump from 1,000,000 to about 6,000,000; that in place of the solitary nominated woman member in some of the legislative councils under the Montagu Constitution there will be groups of elected women members from special con-

stituencies in all the Legislatures (except in the Frontier Province). The significance of these changes seems to have evoked so far singularly little comment, though it may become apparent after the provincial Legislatures begin to function in April. But for the present women assembled in conferences concentrate their attention on their failure to achieve more rather than on what they have actually secured.

It is natural, perhaps, that during a period of constitutional changes the political status and rights of women should become of dominant interest. Large numbers of women went to prison during the civil disobedience movement, and it is generally recognized that one of the main factors responsible for the success of the Congress candidates in the last Assembly elections in 1934 was the enthusiastic support of the women. But how long this generous and unquestioning mood will last one cannot say. There are within the Congress fold, as in other political groups and parties, men who show their concern over some of the demands of the women—the improvement of the Sarda Act and their right to inheritance of property, to mention only two measures which are already before the Legislative Assembly.

The outlook of the educated woman in India is more logical (strange as it may seem) than that of the man, and the radical tendencies which she brings into the sphere of politics she applies also to the solution of social and economic problems. The keynote of the women's movement is equality of status and opportunity with men. It underlies, for instance, the demand for the appointment of an expert commission to overhaul the entire system of Hindu law and its administration. The women may prove embarrassing allies inside the new Legislatures, unless the men are prepared to march in step with them—going so far even as the advocacy of birth-control, a subject of lively debate at a number of women's meetings in several provinces.

There is no doubt as to the line that the women will take, whatever may be their political label. Certain problems are obviously for them to tackle, such as the promotion of child welfare schemes, the protection of women and children employed in industry (particularly in industries of the unregulated types), and the efficient administration of measures dealing with immoral traffic. Special committees and regional conferences have undertaken detailed investigations into these and a number of problems in the field of girls' education, and a definite lead may be expected from women's organizations in the country.

THE CHANGED STATUS OF WOMEN

A feature of their work is the thoroughness which characterizes their inquiries. Reports on civic conditions in Madras and Bombay, both admirably drawn up and full of practical suggestions, indicate the thoroughness with which Indian women face their tasks. The report from Bombay was by a sub-committee of the Presidency Women's Council and dealt exclusively with its depressing housing conditions. The Madras report, for which a non-party group of women was responsible, laid stress on the immediate provision of more playgrounds and parks, the clearance of slums, and improved sanitation and drainage in certain parts of the city.

There is striking evidence all over India of the efforts made within the last fifteen years to enable women to take their proper place in moulding the destinies of their country. Poona, once the citadel of Hindu orthodoxy, is pulsating with the new life which is pouring into India, with her Women's University (rendered possible by the generosity of Lady Thackersay) and the *Seva Sadan*, "the Home of Service," a creation of the late Mr. Devadhar, who was an ardent and life-long champion of the woman's cause. Similar institutions for training women, particularly Hindu widows, for the profession of nursing have come into existence in Madras, Bombay, and other provincial centres. Medicine is proving increasingly attractive to Indian girls, and there are large numbers of students in the Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women in Delhi and in the ordinary medical colleges in provincial centres. Even in the profession of law, which is heavily overcrowded, women advocates are competing with the men in some of the High Courts. Though cases of violation of the Sarda Act and of premature maternity still occur in regrettably large numbers, the average age, both for marriage and its consummation, is rising. Industrialization and the anti-untouchability campaign are undermining the foundations of caste, and the *purdah* system is disappearing from urban areas. Inter-provincial, even inter-religious, marriages are not uncommon and produce little excitement or adverse criticism. And to turn from the serious to the lighter side of life, Indian women take part in every tennis tournament, ride and play hockey; and two are now qualifying themselves for pilots' certificates in the Madras Flying Club.

It would be misleading to suggest that there are no formidable obstacles: the *purdah* is still a great force in some of the northern provinces, and the progress of girls' education is deplorably slow—a

fact which has impressed itself strongly on the present Viceroy. Measures of social reform do not rouse general enthusiasm in the Legislatures, and though the conservative elements in Hindu society have been slow to organize themselves, the energy of the women's movement and their zeal for far-reaching reform are bound to rouse the upholders of orthodoxy to counter-action. It is one of the most hopeful signs of the times that the women's movement is making a definite break with the past. Politics in India will be more real and healthy as the women become conscious of their strength and influence and bring into public administration a non-communal and progressive outlook.

SOME FEATS ON THE HIMALAYAS

BY F. S. SMYTHE

IN 1860, five years before the Matterhorn was climbed by Edward Whymper, a humble member of the Survey of India placed a pole on the summit of Shilla in Spiti, a peak of 23,050ft. This remained the highest summit trodden by man until 1907, when Dr. Longstaff climbed Trisul, 23,360ft., in Garhwal. Yet mountaineers and explorers were not inactive in the Himalayas and there were many notable expeditions by pioneers, such as the Schlagintweit Brothers, Lord Conway, Freshfield, General Bruce, Mummery, Sir Francis Younghusband, the Duke of the Abruzzi, Dr. Kellas, and Mr. C. F. Meade, which opened up the way for future enterprises on the greater peaks, of which there are forty or fifty known to exceed 25,000ft.

Since the Great War there has been a new phase in Himalayan mountaineering. In 1921 the Tibetan Government gave permission for an expedition to explore the approaches to Mount Everest and the Mount Everest Committee was formed, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club, to organize this and subsequent expeditions.

The 1921 expedition, which was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Howard Bury, was successful in discovering a feasible route to the North Col, 23,000ft., and it was followed by expeditions in 1922 and 1924 led by General Bruce which made determined attempts on the summit, during the second of which Brigadier Norton and Dr. Somervell reached a height of 28,000ft. and Mr. G. H. Leigh-Mallory and Mr. A. C. Irvine disappeared after Mr. N. E. Odell had seen them at an even greater height. No further expedition took place until 1933, when one led by Mr. Hugh Ruttledge reached the same point as Norton and Somervell. This was followed in 1935 by another reconnaissance led by Mr. E. E. Shipton, while in 1936 a sixth expedition, again led by Mr. Hugh Ruttledge, climbed no higher than the North Col owing to bad weather.

One result in the battle with high altitudes has been a scramble for the highest peaks in which has entered a competitive and even nationalistic element which many believe inimical to the best interests of mountaineering. This element has been partly fostered by political considerations which have necessitated the organization of expeditions by responsible bodies, and it cannot be doubted that when Everest is climbed Himalayan mountaineering will benefit by a healthier spirit and it is hoped will become again a matter of private enterprise.

Politically, great tracts of the Himalayas are still inaccessible. Nepal, which embraces thousands of great summits, including Dhaulagiri, 26,795ft., and Gosainthan, 26,305ft., is barred to Europeans, while few besides Everest climbers have seen the Tibetan side where the "Snows" sink into the barren plateau of Central Asia, yet there is enough left to occupy the mountaineer, geographer, geologist, and botanist for many generations in districts such as Gilgit, Kashmir, the Karakoram, Spiti and Kulu, Garhwal, Kumaon and Sikkim.

Before the War the peculiar problems inherent in high altitude mountaineering were little understood. Many believed that the only chance of climbing the greater peaks was to rush them before the effects of altitude defeated the climber, and Dr. Longstaff's remarkable ascent of Trisul when he climbed the last 6,000 feet in one day seemed to prove the correctness of this theory. But it is known now that such tactics cannot be applied to the higher peaks such as Everest or Kanchenjunga, where the difficulties are greater and longer and the weather less reliable, and it has been discovered that only by acclimatizing to altitude is there a chance of climbing them. Unfortunately, however, side by side with acclimatization runs a physical and mental deterioration resulting in loss of sleep and appetite and a rapid wastage of flesh and nervous energy which physiologists believe to become marked at an altitude of about 21,000 feet. Thus the position of the climber is analogous to that of a drug addict who accustoms himself to quantities of drugs which would kill a normal person immediately and yet is being slowly killed himself. Furthermore, it has still to be proved that a man can exist on the summit of Everest without breathing artificially administered oxygen, and that the oxygen in the air is sufficient to maintain the body temperature, a danger recently pointed out by physiologists.

Perhaps the most remarkable transition in Himalayan tactics of recent years has been that from small lightly equipped expeditions



A panoramic view from the summit of Sandakphu, to the west of Darjeeling, showing part of the Everest range in the distance

to large, elaborately equipped ones. The latter have been accounted necessary for the attempts on Everest, and the example has been followed by German mountaineers in attempts to climb Kangchenjunga and Nanga Parbat, and last year by a party of Frenchmen. Many now believe this to be a mistaken policy and that in the case of Everest a small expedition of, say, six climbers, costing no more than £2,000, has a better chance of success than a large expedition costing five times that amount. It would, they say, be more mobile and quicker to seize opportunities, which are always limited on Everest, and be stronger psychologically—a vital consideration.

The large expedition policy was followed with disastrous results for the Germans who, in 1934, under the leadership of Herr Willy Merkl, made a second attempt to scale Nanga Parbat, 26,660 feet. Three climbers and six porters, out of a total climbing party of sixteen, lost their lives in a blizzard through failure to maintain adequate supports and communications. Such a disaster could not possibly have happened to a small party, which, apart from other considerations, would have been in a position to attack the summit two or three weeks earlier.

The record of large Himalayan expeditions is one of almost unmitigated failure. They accomplished little or nothing that a smaller expedition could not do equally well; they impoverished the countryside of its reserves of food, thus causing political difficulties, and in general "spoil the market" for private enterprise and the small expedition.

Of recent years the most notable expeditions have been, apart from those associated with Everest, attempts in 1929 and 1931 by Bavarian expeditions under the leadership of Herr Bauer to climb Kangchenjunga, 28,150ft., by its north-east spur, an ice ridge over three miles long. The difficulties of this route are immense, but on both occasions the party extricated themselves from great danger with consummate skill—in 1931 from a point only 2,000ft. from the summit. During this last expedition Herr Hermann Schaller and a porter lost their lives as the result of a slip.

Another attempt to climb Kangchenjunga was made by Professor Dyhrenfurth's international expedition in 1930. This also failed owing primarily to the difficulties and dangers of the mountain, which was attempted from the Nepal side. Finally the climbing party was nearly wiped out by an ice avalanche in which one porter was killed. Subsequently, the Jonsong Peak, 24,344ft., was climbed, the

highest summit to be reached at that time. In 1934 Professor Dyhrenfurth visited the Karakorams and his party climbed three summits of the Queen Mary group, between 24,000ft. and 25,000ft. On both expeditions he was accompanied by his wife, who in reaching 24,000ft. easily beat the late Mrs. Bullock Workman's record for women mountaineers. The most recent expedition was composed of French mountaineers. Its objective was one or other of the high peaks in the Karakorams, but, like the Everest expedition, it encountered very bad weather and accomplished little. It is said that 600 porters were employed, and this alone would limit its activities.

Turning to smaller expeditions some classic examples of what can be accomplished with the minimum of expenditure and equipment are provided by the ascents of the late Dr. Kellas. Accompanied only by Sherpa and Bhotia porters he climbed a number of great peaks, including Chomimo, 22,430ft., Kangchenjau, 22,700ft., and Pauhunri, 23,180ft., in pre-War days, when many still considered it unjustifiable or at least "not done" to climb unguided in the Alps.

More recently the *tour de force* carried through by Messrs. E. E. Shipton and H. W. Tilman stands out as a shining example of what may be accomplished by two resolute mountaineers at an almost negligible cost. Before 1934, despite attempts by parties, including Dr. Longstaff and Mr. Hugh Ruttledge, none had succeeded in penetrating to the foot of Nanda Devi, 25,660ft., the highest mountain in British administered Himalayan territory, and therefore in the British Empire.

This peak is practically surrounded by a crater-like ring of subsidiary peaks and ridges which is broken at one point only by the tremendous gorge of the Rishi river. Not only did the party force a route through the gorge but they discovered a practicable route up Nanda Devi, and subsequently made their way out of the basin by the difficult Sunderdhunga Col. In addition to this they twice crossed the Badrinath watershed, a district sacred to Hindus as the source of the Ganges. They were seven months away from England, and the total cost of the expedition amounted to less than £300.

Profiting by the discovery of a route up the Rishi gorge an Anglo-American expedition, led by Professor Graham-Brown, climbed Nanda Devi in 1936, Messrs. Tilman and Odell reaching the summit. This peak and Kamet, 25,447ft., which was climbed in 1931 by a party of six British mountaineers, following the pioneer work done by Mr. C. F. Meade, are the only two peaks over 25,000ft. that have so far been climbed in the Himalayas. Owing to the sickness of the

porters the climbers in the Nanda Devi expedition carried their own camps up the mountain ; yet in the Himalayas the services of the Sherpa and Bhotia porters cannot be dispensed with on peaks such as Everest, where opportunities are limited, camps must be established quickly, and the strength of the climbers spared for the last lap to the summit. For such ascents the Sherpa, who has been trained in mountaineering by generations of mountaineers, among whom must be mentioned the names of General Bruce and Dr. Kellas, comes into his own, and a *corps d'élite* now exists to whom the ascent of Everest is nothing short of a sacred duty. "Don't be anxious. We mean to do our bit and carry those loads as far as we possibly can. Then it's up to the sahibs to climb the mountain," was their remark to Mr. Rutledge in 1933 just before starting on the terribly arduous task of carrying up two camps on Everest, one to 25,700 feet and the other to 27,400 feet, the highest camp ever pitched. When the last chapter in the struggle for Everest comes to be written the feats of these men will deserve to be recorded in letters of gold.

The development of aviation has brought a new factor to bear on exploration. As yet little has been done in the Himalayas, and for this reason the flights over Everest in 1933, made possible largely by the generosity of the late Lady Houston, are particularly memorable. These had as their organizing secretary Colonel P. T. Etherton, and were led by Air Commodore P. F. M. Fellowes, with Lord Clydesdale as chief pilot. They were brilliantly successful in their two main objectives, flying over Everest and making a photogrammetric strip map of the little-known and imperfectly mapped country to the south of Everest and its attendant peak, Makalu. Since the inception of the Great Indian Trigonometric Survey, Indian and British surveyors have struggled against the appalling difficulties presented by the Himalayas ; they have a new instrument in the aeroplane, and though the difficulties of weather, particularly the violent air currents, are great, it cannot be doubted that they will be overcome and that some day one of the most intricate regions of the earth will be accurately mapped.

At least two expeditions of major importance are being planned. Dr. Karl Wien is to lead a third German expedition to Nanga Parbat, which will probably take place this year, and in 1938 there is to be a seventh Everest expedition. That Everest will be climbed is certain ; it may be by this expedition or by one that sets out a generation hence.

A COUNTRY FOR SPORTSMEN

BY MAJOR W. E. MAXWELL

IT was in 1916, I think, that the India Office scandalized all concerned by issuing a circular advertisement touting for recruits to the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army. I remember as a schoolboy being fascinated by this "trailer." The publicity expert achieved two phrases which have remained in my memory: Polo, "The King of Sports," and Tiger-shooting, "The Sport of Kings." It is sad to say that after nearly twenty years in India I have never played polo seriously and have seen only two serious tigers.

It is even sadder to emphasize the fact that this deplorable state of affairs cannot be laid at the doors of the India Office. For India still remains the sportsman's—particularly the poor sportsman's—land of glorious opportunity. With the unregrettable exception of dog-racing there is no sport for which this enormous country does not cater. It must be admitted that the organization and the quality of these sports compare unfavourably with—let us say—hunting in the Shires or in Cork, or with the rich harvest of the grouse moors; but it will be conceded that only the few in England can afford to enjoy these luxuries.

In India the subaltern with a gun, a rod, and a horse has the game of a mighty continent at his feet if he cares to take the trouble to seek it. And what a variety of game there is, from the ibex of Chitral and Kashmir, the trout and madseer of the Himalayan rivers, to the great bison of the High Ranges in Travancore.

During the winter polo is played in all the larger cantonments. It is taken seriously, and when at Christmas one watches the big matches for the championships in Calcutta or Lahore, one is apt to forget the long preceding period during which ponies and players have trained and dedicated themselves for these great festivals. The current belief that Bengal Lancers undergo a course of Yoga

treatment before a tournament is to be deprecated. In Calcutta especially, where amazing crowds of Indians throng the side lines, cheering and yelling tumultuously, there is a never-to-be-forgotten thrill in seeing polo played as a marvellous game.

I understand that it was in Calcutta that the Oxford Mission to Calcutta first introduced Soccer to the masses. It has now become almost an obsession and has spread to all schools and colleges throughout the land. The Bengali footballers generally play in their bare feet, and it is delightful to watch their dexterous control of the ball when opposed to more heavily shod teams. In the Indian Army Soccer is not popular, although most Gurkha regiments play it.

On the other hand, hockey probably owes its high position in India to the Indian infantry battalions, most members of which from the colonel downwards play it regularly. It is a game particularly suited to Indians, with their supple wrists and quick eyes. Most of the grounds are "putt" (beaten earth), with a fast surface demanding accuracy, speed, and control. To those who have seen the Indian Olympic winners in action, captained by that modest wizard, Dhyan Chand, it will be apparent that such a team could not have been schooled on the slow grass surfaces of England.

Of cricket in India it is, perhaps, unnecessary to write much here. The All-India team which set out with such bright hopes last year to England came back disillusioned but wiser. There is reason, however, to believe that within a few years Indian cricket will give the best English test team the fright of their lives.

Hunting in India can in no wise be compared with hunting in England or Ireland; it attains about 50 per cent. of its excitement with only 25 per cent. of its danger. An exception must be made of the Peshawar Vale Hunt, where even a Duhallow thruster will find excitement comparable with what he experiences in his own country. In the north of India hunting generally begins during November and ends towards the end of February. As scent fails with the growing heat of the sun hounds are generally put into covert as the first light of dawn appears on the horizon. With luck a jackal emerges and goes away loping down the dark edge of an irrigation ditch. Hounds—a pack of fifteen or sixteen couple is generally used—are quickly on the line and one may have a hunt of ten minutes or an hour. In Lahore and Delhi the country is generally open, with few obstacles except irrigation ditches, some of them formidable

SCIENCE IN AGRICULTURE

BY A CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA

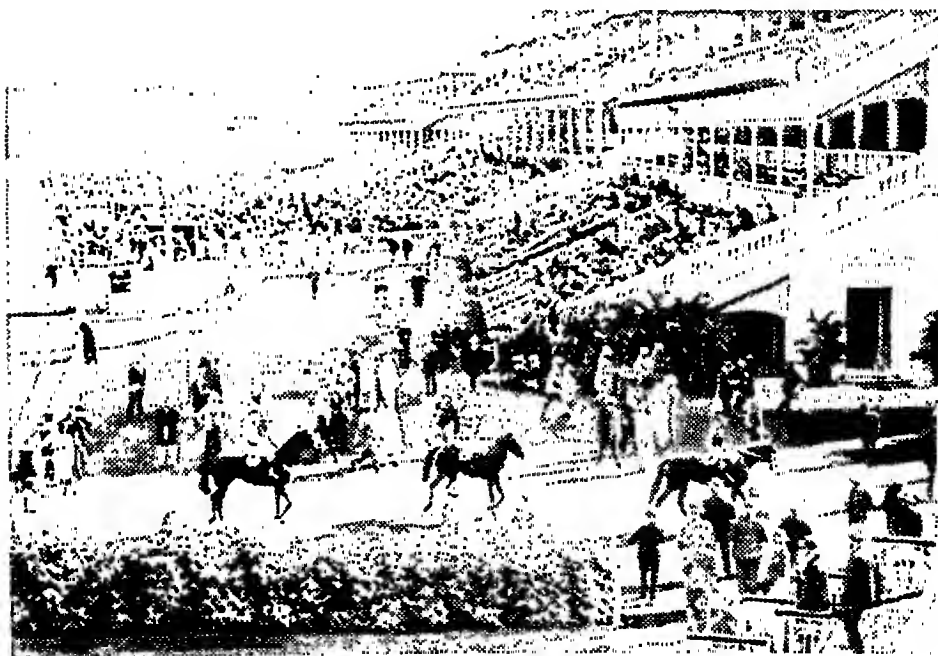
MORE than three-quarters of the population of India are dependent for their existence on agriculture, which they practise on millions of tiny plots of land into which the country's cultivated territory is subdivided. A bewildering variety of crops is grown. The country is one of the greatest producers of rice, cotton, wheat, oil-seeds, sugar, and fibres ; it supplies specialities such as tea, jute, coffee, and spices. This diversity is largely traceable to weather characteristics, which have the effect of dividing the year into two agricultural seasons—the *kharif*, or monsoon season, and the *rabi*, or winter season. Double cropping is common in many parts.

Agriculture is the one great occupation of the people. Their daily lives are concerned with the rainfall or the irrigation supply from wells and canals, the prices of grain and cloth, the payment of rent or land revenue, and the health of their flocks. The ordinary cultivator is a man of few resources, with small means for meeting his limited needs. Illiterate but shrewd, his outlook is confined by tradition and environment and he takes but little interest in the great political movements that have stirred the urban areas in recent years. But his importance to the economic stability of the country is so immense that the chief activities of the Administration are inevitably directed to his welfare.

As a "transferred" subject, agriculture has been the concern of provincial Governments and Indian Ministers since 1921. The reports of provincial agricultural departments bear witness to the increased attention given to agricultural propaganda, as well as to the better organization of demonstrations of improved farming methods. In most provinces, and particularly in the Punjab, Bengal, and the United Provinces, there have been notable developments in the arrangements for the supply of improved seeds and the organization



Lady Linlithgow, wife of the Viceroy, at the Delhi Province Rural and Industrial Exhibition held at the village of Alipore



The stands at the Calcutta racecourse

for their production. The cultivators have proved themselves shrewd enough to adopt the improved varieties of crops. Thousands of acres, in some cases great areas of several provinces, now grow nothing but the improved varieties. Practical demonstrations of new crop potentialities have impressed the villagers, who have been quick to sense the enhanced worth of the improved varieties as a means of bringing them better yields.

As at present constituted, the agricultural departments of the country include a complete organization for bringing the results of scientific research into the village. At one end of the scale are agricultural colleges and research institutes; at the other, thousands of village demonstration plots where the effect of improved seed, methods, implements, and manures is shown under local conditions. Intermediate links in the chain are the experimental farms, where scientific research is translated into field practice, demonstrations, seed farms, and seed stores. The ascertained results are notable enough. The introduction into general cultivation of improved strains of crops forms the most important feature of the work of agricultural departments throughout the country. It is not possible to give the total area under improved crops, owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the "natural spread," but the area under improved varieties in British India now exceeds 16,000,000 acres. Improved varieties of sugar-cane now cover more than 2,000,000 acres, or nearly 63½ per cent. of the whole. The area under improved cotton strains borders on 4,000,000 acres.

Interest in agriculture has been given a distinct impetus since Lord Linlithgow ascended the Viceregal throne. He has given a new emphasis to the place of the cultivator in the country's economic scheme. This was to be expected from a Viceroy who, as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, recorded the view that the cause of agriculture in India can be greatly accelerated by a Viceroy who takes a personal interest in the subject. The principal recommendation of the Royal Commission was the need for creating an Imperial Council of Agricultural Research because of the decline in the coordination of research between the centre and the provinces and between province and province at the time. The council was established in 1929, and without question it has revolutionized agricultural research in India. Through its efforts the cooperative ideal has been largely fulfilled.

Apprehensions have been expressed lest the inauguration of provincial autonomy might lead to a renewal of the lack of coordination which had existed before the council was created. The Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform anticipated that danger and held that it would be deplorable if provincial autonomy were to lead the provinces to suppose that each could regard itself as self-sufficient or tempt the centre to disinterest itself in the efforts hitherto made to collect and coordinate information for general use. There are ample indications that Ministers of the provinces and, at a later date, Ministers of the Federal Government will support such administrative measures as are best calculated to ensure a steady and uninterrupted improvement in agricultural activities throughout the country. Although agriculture is a provincial subject, the value of collaboration with the centre and, through the centre, with one another is fully realized in the provinces. This is because the council is in the closest touch with agricultural realities, largely because both its governing body and its advisory board are fully representative of those who are responsible for agricultural policy and administration.

On the governing body each province is represented by the Minister in charge of agriculture ; on the advisory board sit provincial directors of agricultural and veterinary departments ; other experts, agricultural and veterinary, in the employ of local Governments, research workers in the agricultural and veterinary sciences and allied subjects in the universities, and independent scientific institutions and associations. Indian States, especially the larger ones, such as Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Baroda, have already been drawn into the orbit of the council as keen cooperators. So far as agriculture and animal husbandry are concerned it can be affirmed with truth that both the machinery and the spirit needed for Federal cooperation already exist, as do good reasons for the hopes that both will improve and endure.

A DIVERSITY OF JOURNALS

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT IN INDIA

THE Press in India has played a significant part in the constitutional and political developments which have characterized Indian experience since 1919. In a country where the number of literates is relatively small the formation of public opinion is even to-day more dependent on the spoken than the written word ; but in recent years the Press has become one of the most important factors in public life, - wielding a power and influence which have had exceptional effect upon the politics and policies of the day.

Indian newspapers belong to two categories—those which are printed in English and those which appear in one or other of the many indigenous languages. Those printed in English are further divided by being European-owned or Indian-owned. The continental dimensions of the country tend to confine circulations to specific areas, although there are to-day several newspapers which circulate throughout the country as a whole. “Dak editions” of newspapers from Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Lahore, Madras, and other important centres reach remote places bearing the current date. The comparatively restricted knowledge of English practically limits the reading of newspapers in that language to the educated classes, but vernacular papers are read to illiterate hearers by their literate fellows in towns and villages and have a more effective circulation and influence than their sales figures would suggest.

The Simon Report contended that a broad view of the Indian owned and edited Press shows a continuously growing freedom of criticism of the Administration ; more and more insistent demands for political reforms of a comprehensive character ; and in some papers a freedom, almost a violence of language which brings their editors within the scope of the criminal law. Another feature, particularly of the vernacular Press, has been the volume and bitterness of inter-communal polemics.

Various factors contribute to give the Indian-owned Press an important status in public life. Broadcasting in India is still in process of expansion, and has not yet attained its stature in moulding public opinion. Political parties, organized on lines similar to those in the West, are still in their infancy. Political education is therefore derived chiefly from the Press, and assertions made in newspapers acquire great power and prestige. The European-owned Press represents on the whole the point of view of the Administration, but the Indian-owned newspapers, whether in English or the vernaculars, stand for varying degrees of Nationalist opposition, ranging from carping criticism of everything that emanates from Delhi to full-throated demands for complete independence of the British connexion.

The leading English-owned papers are the *Statesman* and the *Times of India*. By printing simultaneously in Calcutta and New Delhi the *Statesman* claims an effective all-India circulation. The edition printed in Calcutta serves South and East India, much of Central India, and Western India. The New Delhi edition serves the rest of Central India, the greater part of the United Provinces, all the frontier territory of the north, Western India north of Bombay, and Rajputana. The *Times of India*, which has its headquarters in Bombay, is nearing the century of its existence as a widely circulated and influential newspaper. It circulates throughout the whole of Western and Central India and penetrates both to the far north and the far south. In its editorial policy it seeks to represent sound Indian opinion while underlining the value of the British connexion.

The *Pioneer* of Lucknow does not hold the position it once held in Indian life, but is recovering a status which was affected some time ago by a reorientation of policy; it advocates constitutional methods of political advance. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore is the organ of the English community making an appeal to military elements in the country. The *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, is influential and moderate in its advocacy of the English point of view. The *Madras Mail* circulates widely in the Madras Presidency and has much influence among Europeans and others in that area.

Among the Indian-owned newspapers in English the *Hindu*, of Madras, takes the leading place. This excellently edited and well-produced newspaper adopts a critical but not irresponsible tone and has a great influence among Indians in all parts of the country. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is an extremist paper exerting great influence

A DIVERSITY OF JOURNALS

in Bengal and elsewhere. The *Bombay Chronicle* is one of the chief political critics of the Government, expressing the Nationalist policy. In Lahore the *Tribune* advocates the Nationalist case trenchantly and critically. The *Hindustan Times* and the *National Call* of Delhi are pro-Congress. The *Liberal Leader* of Allahabad is followed by students of politics; it favours political advance by constitutional means and is frequently critical of the administration.

While the English Press wields great influence over the intelligentsia it is the vernacular Press that directs mass mentality. The number of vernacular papers in British India is 3,861, and their recorded circulation is nearly 37,000,000. It is, moreover, estimated that their readers are nearly five times their circulation. This is due to the fact that vernacular newspapers circulate among the poorer elements of the community, and many borrow the papers from their neighbours or hear them read by their friends.

The Hindi and Urdu scripts are chiefly used. Lahore and Delhi are the main centres for these papers, whose influence extends through Northern India, where the main language is Urdu. In Bihar and the Central Provinces the chief script is Hindi, although both Urdu and Hindi are more or less understood throughout the country as a whole. There are also influential papers in provincial languages such as Bengali in Bengal, Gujarati in Bombay, and Tamil in Madras. The vernacular daily with the largest circulation is the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, printed in Bengali.

Even in those provinces where English is well understood vernacular languages have a great hold. In Bengal, for instance, there is hardly a Bengali family, especially in the urban areas, by whom English is not understood. Yet the vernacular papers have a large following. Similarly in Madras, where English is widely spoken and read, some papers in Tamil and Telegu have great sway. *Swadesha Mitran* and *Dhina Mani*, both in Tamil, and *Andhra Patrika*, a daily in Telegu, are examples. In Bombay some vernacular papers, including the *Bombay Samachar*, a Gujarati daily, are widely read.

PUBLIC HEALTH

BY A MEDICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE state of the public health in India can perhaps best be gauged by an examination of figures in the annual reports of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India. The population of India in 1931, the last census year, was 352,000,000, and has since increased so rapidly that by 1941 the total may reach the 400,000,000 mark. These figures, however, include the population of Burma (nearly 15,000,000 in 1931) now to be separated. The birth-rate at 34-36 per mille shows no tendency to fall; the death-rate, on the contrary, has decreased definitely during the past thirty years and now varies between 22 and 25 per mille; and the recorded infantile mortality rate lies around 185 per mille of registered births. The latter almost certainly fails to represent actual facts, while in some of the largest towns it sometimes reaches the appalling rate of 400 per mille.

In order to indicate what these statistical rates mean, it may be added that in 1934 in British India alone total births numbered 9,288,897, total deaths 6,856,244, and deaths of infants under one year of age were 1,734,516. Those figures, it must be remembered, are collected for the most part by village headmen and village policemen, who, having other duties to perform, are not too punctilious in maintaining their vital statistics registers. Even so, the figures are sufficiently impressive.

The large annual increases of population have compelled greater attention to the question of food supplies and the nutritional state of the people. Some hold that India is already over-populated and, in fact, near saturation point (in this belief they have the support of such an authority as Professor Carr Saunders); others state that there is no evidence to show that the ryot is worse fed than he was in the earlier days and that agricultural research is continuously showing the way to increased yields. Whatever may be the truth, one fact is

incontrovertible : a large proportion of the general population suffers from varying degrees and forms of malnutrition, while actual deficiency diseases are all too common. Whether existing food deficiencies, quantitative and qualitative, are capable of easy correction is doubtful. It can safely be asserted that the Indian people have so far refrained from following the example of Western nations in respect of restriction of families, so that, in the absence of devastating catastrophes such as the influenza epidemic of 1918, the annual additions to the population will continue to increase. It is not easy to visualize the ready adoption of this solution to population pressure.

Meantime, however, the keen interest displayed by the Viceroy has already done much to stimulate interest in public health, nutrition, and the betterment of the agriculturists, who constitute the vast majority of India's workers.

More money has been made available for the development of nutritional and agricultural research ; and a determined effort is being made to coordinate work on animal and human nutrition. The Indian Research Fund Association has planned, under the guidance of a newly constituted Nutritional Advisory Committee, a large extension to its programme of nutritional research. Fortunately, when Sir Robert McCarrison retired two years ago, the I.R.F.A. were able to obtain the services of Dr. W. R. Aykroyd as Director, Nutritional Research, and his wide experience promises fruitful results in a number of directions. Diet surveys in different provinces have been begun, and these will be coordinated with the analyses of the common Indian foodstuffs which have already been under progress for some time. The only interrogation one might make is in respect of the capacity of the average agriculturist or villager to absorb the new knowledge available.

Diseases like malaria and hookworm sap the energy of millions and make the villager even more conservative than he otherwise might be, because of physical and mental inertia caused by recurring sickness. One recent estimate has it that 100,000,000 persons in India suffer yearly from malaria. Cholera, plague, and smallpox, though much less terrifying in their manifestations than before, still cause many thousands of deaths annually, while tuberculosis is a more recent plague which has become one of the major health problems of the present day. Most provinces have got suitable organizations capable of dealing with the customary major epidemic diseases, but

none has done more than touch the fringe of the more recent tuberculosis problem.

What, it may be asked, has been done to combat these conditions? For too long it was considered sufficient to provide medical aid, and hospitals and dispensaries were built all over the country, although existing institutions have never been capable of dealing with more than a fraction of the sick. Even during the first decade of the present century public health continued to be the Cinderella of the nation-building services, and it may, indeed, be said with considerable truth that only since the Great War has preventive medicine been given the consideration it deserved.

Under the Reforms of 1919 medicine and public health were "transferred" to Indian Ministers, who quickly realized that money spent on public health was excellent political propaganda. There now exists a number of fairly satisfactory public health departments which have managed with some difficulty to survive the financial storms of the last four years. But many local bodies and municipal councils are still apparently reluctant to provide pure water supplies and suitable drainage schemes, and refuse to see the urgency of improved environmental hygiene. It is permissible to doubt if any further marked advance in public health standards will be possible until Indian women are sufficiently educated to appreciate the desirability and necessity of that betterment. With the sole exception of Madras Presidency, for example, no province employs a woman assistant director of public health to take charge of official activities in the maternity and child-welfare fields, and it is still very difficult to find posts for qualified health visitors, even though the number trained each year is pitifully small. When the general figures for infant mortality are recalled, and when it is noted that a recent investigation into maternal mortality revealed a death-rate of nearly 20 per 1,000, as compared with 4.5 in England, it will be obvious how much remains to be done in this direction alone.

It is possible, however, to be too pessimistic. During the present century considerable progress has been made, and one has to remember that it is not yet more than eighty years since health conditions in England were deplorably backward. In many directions health organizations are carrying out good work, while health legislation has made many advances since 1919. What is of far greater significance, there is developing a considerable public opinion which



A little shoemaker in Delhi



An ancient gateway through the battlemented city wall which surrounds Bikaner, the capital of the Bikaner State in Rajputa

will compel reluctant municipal councils and local boards to mend their ways and devote more time and money to public health necessities. Here, again, the Viceroy has given marked encouragement to the movement by his recent announcement of the constitution of a Central Board of Health, a body representative of every province and intended to coordinate and expand public health work in the different provinces, and, it is hoped, in the federating Indian States. This board should be of great value.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WILD LIFE

THE extreme contrasts in climate and physical characters have influenced the development of a fauna which in interest and variety is equalled by few regions of the earth. The animal and plant life of the Himalayas differs markedly from the rest of India. Within the Himalayan system three distinct zones of life may be recognized, each of which supports its characteristic assemblage of animals and plants. The first of these zones covers the forested slopes of the main Himalayan chain, from the foothills to the level of the tree line, and extends for 1,000 miles from the eastern limits of Kashmir to Bhutan. The foothills and lower valleys of this zone are covered with dense tropical forests, inhabited mainly by animals which are common in the forests of the Indian Peninsula. Tiger, elephant, sambhar, and the gaur or Indian bison are common.

At an altitude of 5,000-6,000ft. the character of the animal and plant life changes. Oaks, magnolias, laurels, and birches replace the *sal*, *simul*, and giant bamboos of the lower hills. At yet higher levels pines and fir trees, juniper and scrubby rhododendrons predominate. This change from tropical to temperate vegetation is gradual. In the humid climate of the Eastern Himalayas, exposed as they are to the full blast of the monsoon, tropical plants and animals are found at higher levels than in the drier and colder climate of the Western zone. The fauna of these temperate forests is distinguished by the absence of many animals, common in the plains of India, and by the presence of numerous Indo-Chinese species not found in India but which are common in the hill forests of Assam, Upper Burma, and Southern China. Racoons, ferret badgers, hog badgers, crestless porcupines, and those curious goat-antelopes, the serow, and the goral are some of the typical residents of these forests. At an altitude of 12,000-13,000ft. the limits of the tree line are reached; trees give place to grass and rock, which in turn yield to the sovereignty of perpetual ice and snow. The bare towering peaks above the tree line and the strip of luscious grass country lying between the great

Himalayan chain and the plateaux of Tibet is a transition zone where the animal life of the Himalayan forests merges into one which is typical of Europe and Central Asia.

The Tibetan plateaux with Eastern Ladakh constitutes the second distinctive faunal area. It is a high wind-swept region of intense cold where both desert and Arctic conditions prevail and where such animals as the Arctic hare and the wild ass of the Asiatic deserts both find congenial environment. The great Tibetan sheep (*Ovis ammon hodgsoni*), the bhalar, and the hairy yak are typical inhabitants of these cold and barren uplands. Marco Polo's sheep (*O. ammon poli*) just comes within our limits at Hunza, in Gilgit.

The third great zone of the Himalayan system extends from Kashmir to Chitral. In this cold dry region Indo-Chinese and Malayan animals, so predominant in the Eastern Himalayas, are largely replaced by an admixture of colonists from the Indian Peninsula and immigrants from Central Asia, Europe, and the countries lying to the west. The sambhar, the typical forest deer of South-Eastern Asia, is replaced by the Kashmir stag, a relative of the red deer of Europe. Typical of this western zone are the wild sheep and goats which pasture in its mountain valley. These include the markhor and ibex, both immigrants from the north, and the shapu and goral, a colonist from the west. The brown bear is found in some of the remoter mountain valleys, while other European animals include the wolf, lynx, and fox.

India, south of the Himalayas, is the home of the true Indian fauna, typical mammalian representatives of which are the spotted deer, the blackbuck, the nilgai, and the sloth bear. With these indigenous species there is a mixture of Ethiopian Palaearctic and Malayan forms. The Trans-Indus districts of Sind and Baluchistan are really part of the Great Palaearctic desert which extends westwards to the shores of North Africa. The fauna of this desert zone differs markedly from the rest of India and consists of species which have migrated into it from the deserts beyond and of Indian animals which are able to tolerate conditions of life in these sandy wastes. The wild animals of this zone include the Sind wild goat and many species of desert carnivores and rodents.

The desert zone, with its desert animal and plant life, merges gradually into the great Gangetic plain, a vast tract of level land ninety to 300 miles wide reaching from the banks of the Indus to the

Bay of Bengal. As one travels along this plain from west to east the character of the animal and plant life changes, the desert forms gradually disappear, till in the humid plains of Bengal the vegetation and the animal life differ but little in luxuriance from that of the coastal belts of the main Peninsula. The northern edge of the great plain adjoining the Himalayan foothills is covered by the grass jungles and swamps of the Terai, while farther east at the mouth of the Ganges lie the Sunderbans—a wilderness of swamp and forest. The larger animals of the Gangetic plain include the great Indian rhinoceros, which is now limited to the country east of the River Gandak, known as the Chitawan in Nepal, and to the Brahmaputra valley. Whether the two other species of rhinoceros, the lesser one-horned rhinoceros and the Asiatic two-horned rhinoceros, still survive in India is a matter for speculation. The wild buffalo ranges through the Terai into the grass land of Assam and is found farther south in Bihar and Orissa and some of the eastern districts of the Central Provinces. Swamp deer are still abundant in the marshes of the Terai, and, like the buffalo, range southwards into the Central Provinces. Another typical animal of the Gangetic plain is the hog deer.

South of the Gangetic plain the Indian Peninsula takes the form of a triangular tableland supported at its base by a confused chain of hills known as the Vindhya Mountains, and on either side by the Eastern and Western Ghats. The face of the tableland is broken at intervals by the valleys of its intersecting rivers and scarred with scattered peaks and hill ranges, the most notable of which are the Nilgiris and the South Indian Hills. The eastern districts of the Central Provinces, Gujarat and the Deccan, are sheltered from the monsoon by the unbroken wall of the Western Ghats. This dry zone extends to the low lands of the Carnatic and the plains of Coimbatore. The greater part of this dry zone for some 2,000 square miles is covered with black cotton soil, product of the underlying volcanic rocks known as Deccan Trap. The Trap country has its characteristic animal life. In the open grass land and the scrub jungle herds of gazelle and blackbuck were once common, though now sadly reduced. Other typical animals of the Trap country are the jungle cats, foxes; mongooses, palm squirrels, hares, and variety of field rats and mice. Gaur, sambhar, spotted deer and sloth bear and wild dogs live in the open deciduous hill forests. The Indian lion has found its ultimate retreat in the thorny forests of the Gir in Kathiawar. In the eastern

parts of the Central Provinces the climate is similar to that of Bengal, the vegetation is more luxuriant and the animal life enriched by the presence of wild buffalo, wild elephants, and swamp deer.

The Western Ghats present a sharp contrast to the adjoining dry zone of the Deccan. It is a region of great humidity and rainfall. The forests covering the western slopes of these hills are composed of lofty trees festooned with creepers, while bamboos form a luxuriant undergrowth. In the south the Nilgiris rise precipitously to form extensive downs and tablelands seamed with densely forested gorges called *sholas*, which are a feature of the South Indian Hill ranges. These *sholas* provide shelter to wild elephants, gaur, sambhar, and other large animals of these hills. The forests of the Western Ghats and the South Indian Hills have a richer fauna than the rest of the Peninsula. Among the species limited to these forests are the Nilgiri langur, lion-tailed monkey, various species of mongooses, and the Malabar civet. In the higher level of the Nilgiris and the Anamallais such characteristically Himalayan animals as the Nilgiri tahr and the pine marten are found.

THE ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

IN one of the many histories of India which have appeared in recent years the authors, two Englishmen, write that "outside the great cities only an infinitesimal part of the population is brought into contact with the English, and probably most Indians live and die without seeing one." There is no doubt that the observation is true though it may be unwelcome to those who, thinking of India as just emerging from British rule to self-government, dimly visualize the country as having been ruled by an omnipresent British bureaucracy. The English in India are very literally a handful, but their importance to the country has been, and still is, out of all proportion to their numbers. Will they continue to have that relative importance?

English influence in India must diminish, but it does not of necessity follow that the number of the English in the country will be materially reduced in the near future. There was a time, rather more than 100 years ago, when the Services looked down on the non-official English in India, thought it bad form to associate with them, and merely recognized their existence. But they did not have it their own way for long. In the big cities, like Bombay and Calcutta, the non-official gradually swamped the officials and so it comes about that to-day when one speaks of the English in India it is of the non-official, the business man—the box-walla to use the old jesting phrase—that one most readily thinks. To some old-timers such an idea as that may seem sacrilege, but the civilian of to-day must know it is true and that the reason for it is partly to be traced to those zealots who thought they best served England by warning young men against seeking service in India. That phase happily is past, and perhaps the harm done has been effaced though recollection of it will linger; and once again the Indian Civil Service enjoys the popularity it deserves, there is competition among young men to join it, and, best sign of all, many of the sons of men who attained eminence in it are following in their fathers' steps. In business firms, too, family tradition tells

for much, though the character of commercial life in India has greatly changed in recent years. Many of the old firms have disappeared, especially the smaller import and export firms and those which mainly lived on the import of cotton piece-goods from Lancashire. But with new conditions of life new businesses have come into being—the oil companies, for instance, have large European staffs—and India seems as full as ever of cheerful young Englishmen, working hard and playing hard.

Not always is it realized how enormously the material conditions of life in India have changed within the past twenty-five years. Modern flats in the large cities have largely replaced the fine old bungalows ; some of the clubs, which used to admit ladies on sufferance only, now permit married couples to live in their residential quarters ; the old hand-pulled punkah has become a museum-piece, making way for the electric fan just as the charcoal *sigree* over which clothes and bedding used to be dried in the monsoon has been replaced by electric stoves. The food supply, it is true, has not yet arrived at that stage of frozen standardization which the late Lord Chelmsford hoped to see introduced during his Viceroyalty, and high tariffs have made all imported foods expensive. But there has been a change in the quality of food that is very appreciable, and for it competition between hotels (a few of them modernized out of recognition), restaurants, and clubs is mainly responsible.

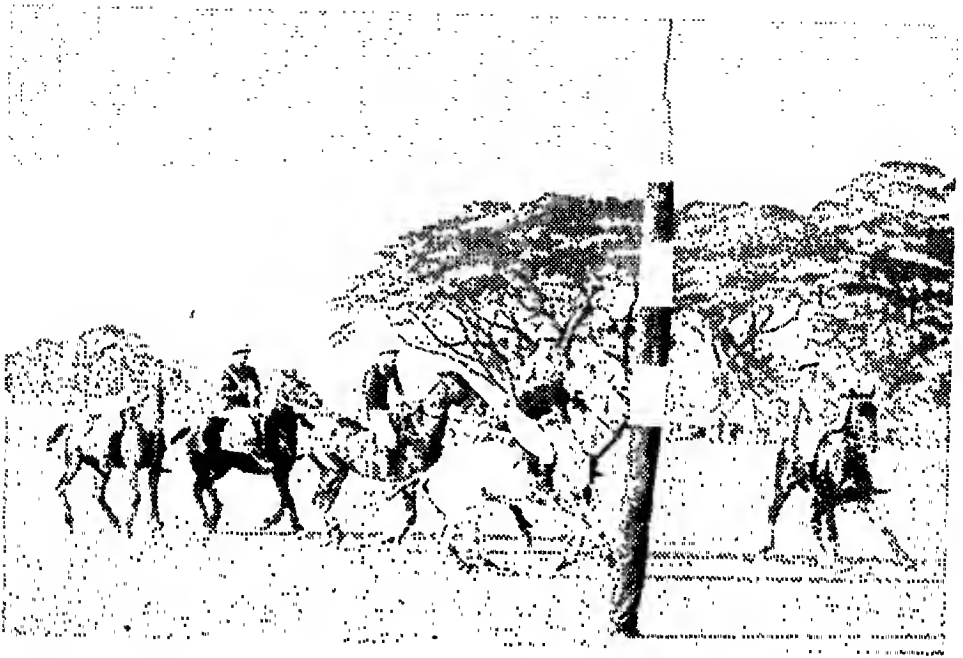
Prices naturally have gone up, but so have salaries since the War. No longer is the young man on first arrival in India able to buy a horse cheap, though he may get one on easy terms if he will join and learn to ride in the local mounted volunteer corps. He can get a car on easy terms too, and explore the countryside more widely, though not more thoroughly, than earlier generations could, and so can go farther afield after snipe and quail at the week-end in the cold weather. Whatever his tastes may be, he can find opportunities for all games much more cheaply and conveniently than in England, since membership of one gymkhana club will generally satisfy all his wants in that direction. If games and sport do not occupy all his leisure time there is always as much committee work of one sort or another to be done as will satisfy any right-minded person and possibly serve as preparation for the more arduous work of service in municipality or legislature. In the evening, though theatrical companies seldom nowadays face the expense of a tour in India, there are in the towns

innumerable cinemas which, whatever one may think of them, are perhaps better for everybody than the old-fashioned and generally very tedious nautch parties.

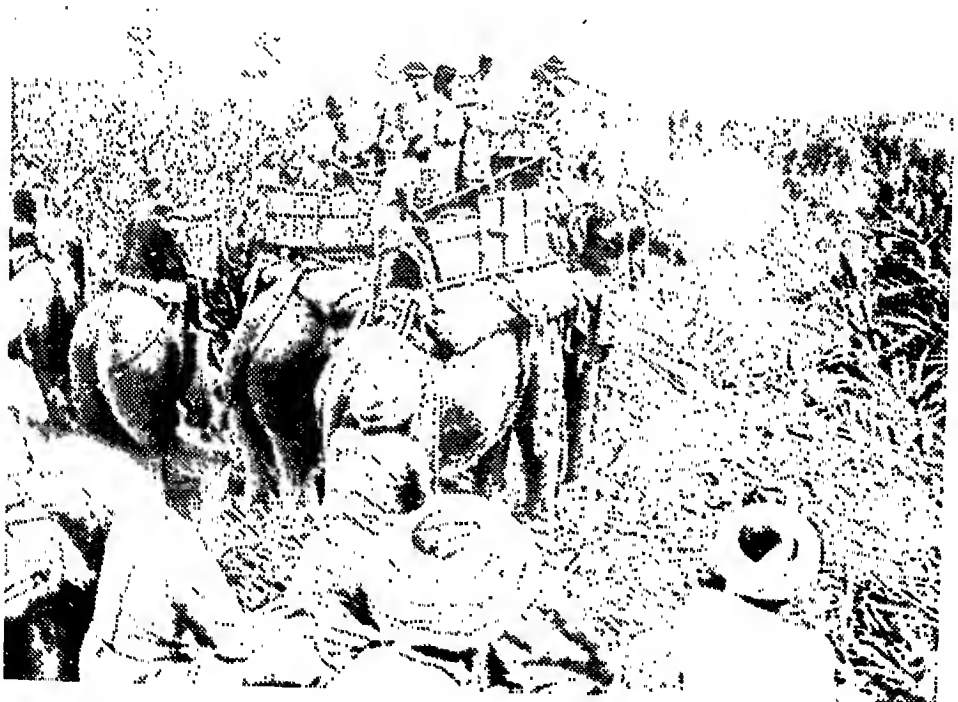
In his work and often in his pastimes the Englishman in India is, as a rule, brought into close contact with Indians, and he may well count himself fortunate that the pleasure of this association is no longer marred by the bitterness engendered by the non-cooperation movement. It may be that the breach which the movement emphasized will never be completely closed any more than the gap between Hindus and Muhammadans will ever be bridged. But happily there come times like the present in the greater part of India when amicable relations are undisturbed (though they may be ruffled by electoral fervour) and there is no good reason why they should not continue undisturbed through the changes of the coming years.

Mr. T. G. P. Spear in his book "The Nabobs" has noted about one period that the factors which improved the tone of English life in India widened the racial breach. "The days of corrupt Company officials, of ill-gotten fortunes, of oppression of ryots, of zenanas, and of illicit sexual connexions, were also the days when Englishmen were interested in Indian culture, wrote Persian verses, and foregathered with Pandits and Maulvis and Nawabs on terms of social equality and personal friendship." In the India of to-day one can find similar illustrations of the principle that progress in one direction means withdrawal from another. It is true that Indianization of the Services widens the breach between Indians and English. Indianization of the Education Service in particular must have that effect. That Service has had many illustrious men in the past whose names are still revered in India, men who took to India all that is best in English culture and who diffused an appreciation of it in a way that cannot be rivalled by their Indian successors, no matter how high their academic qualifications may be. On the other hand increased facilities for communication between the two countries help to bring them together in a way that is not to be measured in terms of time and distance.

There are Englishmen still working in India who well remember the days when the chief English newspapers there were sold at four annas, days when the Press rate for cables was as prohibitive as 1s. a word and the mail took a fortnight in transit between London and Bombay. Those handicaps on the enterprise of newspapers have



Polo at Calcutta. The Black Watch v. Government House in the Carmichael Cup tournament



Hunting tiger. In Bengal, Mysore, and the forests of the Central Provinces tigers still roam at large

THE ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

gone, they have been transformed, and the change has brought India into touch with the events of the world, and incidentally has paved the way for such developments as the reception in India of the daily Empire broadcasts by the B.B.C. These changes mean more to the Englishman in India than may be realized by those who stay at home : they mean that, while he may make his home in India and learn to love the country and its peoples, he remains much nearer to England than was possible only a few years ago.

VILLAGES AND VILLAGE FOLK

By M. L. DARLING

THERE are in India 700,000 villages dividing a population of 300,000,000. Let us visit two or three of them, starting with Eastern Bengal, the country of jute and also, alas, of the terrorist. Approaching, we see a village pleasantly spread out among rice fields and sugar-cane in leafy groves of bamboo, plantain, and mango. Its 300 houses are made of bamboo matting thatched with straw or jute sticks, and the roofs are beautifully curved to the lines of a howdah, the better to resist the cyclonic storms that visit these parts.

Each house has its courtyard, upon whose smooth, spotless floor the newly garnered rice lies drying in the radiant sunshine. The village has a small primary school, and the boys are there to greet us on either side of our path, each carrying a little flag at the end of a bamboo stick. The bamboo here costs nothing and bends to every man's service. The flags are only of coloured paper, but their blues and their purples, their reds and their greens glow as the sun shines through them. Two small boys start a song of welcome, approaching slowly as they sing. They bear garlands of marigolds, the symbolic flower of Hindu India ; and, having garlanded us, they retire still singing, making the loveliest gestures with their hands as if moulding the words of their song. This is very different from the rough homespun ways of the English village, but in India village life has two or three thousand years of civilization behind it ; and the grace, as well as the dust, of time is everywhere upon it.

Now let us take an aeroplane and fly to the heart of India in the Central Provinces. The holy Narbudda is not far away, and there are great stretches of jungle where tigers prowl. Man is more primitive than in Bengal and feelings are both simple and strong. Not long ago the village we are about to visit was torn by a feud so bitter that the

men of one faction would go right round the village rather than pass through the quarter occupied by the other. Faction is the village's greatest curse, but it can be cured, as this village shows, thanks to a small but courageous Bengali lady who was set to work here by some philanthropic organization in the cause of rural reconstruction. Some think this movement cannot progress without a whole battery of loudspeakers, cinemas, and wireless sets. These doubtless have their place, but they had no place here. Miss R.'s method was to tend the villagers as if they were her children, teaching and healing both young and old. So keen now are the children to come to school that she can inflict upon them no greater punishment than to forbid them to come, and those who once were enemies meet in friendly combat on the football field. Many are her innovations. Her first was to window her house. When the villagers saw this they begged her not to sleep there: "An evil spirit will get in at night and kill you." She said she was not afraid, but for all that they posted someone to watch her house and came the first thing in the morning to see how she did. This solicitude is characteristic of the Indian peasant's feeling for hospitality. Before she came here it was stipulated that the villagers must treat her as they would their own daughter. They honoured their promise so well that for six months her house was always guarded at night.

One thing, however, puzzled them—what God did she worship? They could not make out, and one day she found someone searching her house to find her god. She told them she went to the neighbouring town to worship. This excited their curiosity so strongly that they sent someone to watch where she went, and he followed her into the local church. He was surprised that she did not bow down when she entered it, and asked which of the gods it was that she worshipped. Hearing it was the God above all gods, he exclaimed: "What, you dare to worship the great God and are not afraid of being struck by lightning?" This touches one of the deepest springs of Indian peasant psychology, and not of Indian peasant psychology only. The writer once asked a peasant woman in the South of France why she prayed to Our Lady and not to God Himself. "But the good God is a busy man (*homme d'affaires*) and has no time to attend to a simple woman like me."

If religion colours the Indian peasant's mind, his one thought is how to fill his stomach, and one can understand this in a country where Nature is entirely capricious and man unceasingly prolific.

Asked one day what was the first thing he thought of when he woke up in the morning, one of these villagers said : " I think—to-day I want eight annas (9d.) to live on and I can only earn six. How shall I get the other two ? I cannot possibly earn them. I must get them some other way, and I think—how can I do this ? " And yet greed for gain is not a dominating motive in the Indian village. On the contrary the set of peasant mind and habit is all towards generous hospitable living.

This village illustrates another point. The people were induced to repair the road that connects them with the high road and to give their labour free. The Indian peasant rarely has much cash to spare, but the few acres which support him often leave him idle. His labour, therefore, is his one spare asset, and as he is generally willing to give it free for an object which he values, for example, the building of a temple or mosque, the whole face of village life might in time be changed if it could be harnessed to such ends as building dispensaries and schools, repairing village roads, embanking fields, and sinking wells. But this requires both organization and leadership, and that is the secret of the new life that has entered this village. It has found a leader with an organization behind her, and it is the writer's conviction that nothing permanent will be achieved in any village unless there is someone living in it willing and able to teach and lead. The best efforts of the peripatetic official must otherwise fail.

Now for another flight, this time northwards across the wide open plain of the Punjab to where a beneficent Government, by a unique system of irrigation, has turned nearly 6,000,000 acres of semi-desert into a country rich in sugar-cane, cotton, and wheat. I write of a village seen to-day. It is inhabited by men who forty years ago were nomads, living the Beduin life of Arabia, but now settled in villages which, for cleanliness at least, might be the pride of any country in the world. Their houses and courtyard walls are made only of sun-dried bricks, but they are so well plastered that they shine with almost a porcelain lustre. " The feet of the king bring blessing " is the headman's courtly greeting, and he takes us to his house to see the challenge cup which the village has recently won for being the cleanest in the district.

The peasantry of the Punjab are one of the finest in the world, and as we rode away we came upon a young man sowing his field with

wheat. He was doing this broadcast spraying of the seed over his well-ploughed land with a quick rhythmic jerk of his right hand, and in his blue-skirted tunic with his *puggree* (headdress) drawn about his waist to hold the seed at his side he looked like a young god come down to earth to quicken her with life. We asked him why he did not sow in lines. "Without doubt sowing in lines is good, but to sow broadcast is our custom and we do it." In saying this he expressed a feeling that is common to the whole of India : for custom, good and bad, rules the village.

VEGETATION AND SOIL

By W. BURNS

FOREST and desert, swamp and sand, palm and pine . . . such is India. Variations in altitude, soil and climate present conditions for almost every type of vegetation. On the seacoast are muddy creeks occupied by the mangrove, a curious plant community the trees and shrubs of which tolerate salt water. Many of them have breathing roots which function like a diver's tube, taking air down to the parts buried in the airless slime. Others produce Indian-club-like seedlings which drop off and automatically plant themselves, right side up, in the mud. Sandy beaches are often dominated and held together by the goat's-foot convolvulus, and elsewhere may be found a grass from which spiky tufts are detached and driven by the wind till they come to rest and start new colonies. Most striking are the coconut palms, whose graceful stems and tossing leaves are the natural decoration of the tropical coastline.

Rainfall is the great determiner of vegetation. In India the bulk of the rainfall is in many places confined to half the year. In such conditions grass grows luxuriantly during the rains, and then its top parts (if fire or grazing have left any) die or wither, leaving a khaki stump, while the underground parts live on in a dormant state. There are great areas of speargrass with scattered trees, of which the most prominent is the *babul*, an acacia, which gives fuel, hard wood for implements and wheels, fodder for goats, gum arabic for trade, and thorny branches for hedges.

Another thorny plant is the prickly pear or cactus, brought into India in the 18th century by the East India Company for the growing of cochineal. Some prickly-pear varieties ran wild or were planted as defences and finally became a nuisance. An imported and very virulent cochineal insect is now destroying the prickly pear, and few will mourn its departure. India has its own plants of the same

type, with succulent stems and armed with prickles. These belong to the group *Euphorbia*, and all have milky juice. One of them, shaped like a fantastic candelabra, is found widely over India, and a species of it goes up to 6,000ft. on the road from Kalka to Simla, overlapping the zone of pines which come down to meet it.

It is astonishing how many of India's common plants have been introduced from other lands. There is that beautiful tree, the *gold mohur* or *flamboyant* with its gold and red flowers that last from March to June, which comes from Madagascar. There is the pestilential *Lantana* shrub with orange or red flowers and berries beloved by birds, which came from America and is choking up Indian forests. The yellow Mexican poppy with thistle-like leaves, which often appears as the first plant in newly broken ground in the Deccan, and the water hyacinth from Florida, which blocks up reservoirs and rivers in Bengal, are also outsiders. But village pools, in parts where there is no water hyacinth, display the most lovely thing, the Indian lotus, which figures so often as a motif in decoration. Imported useful plants are the eucalyptus, now so plentiful on the Nilgiri hills, and the casuarina tree, superficially rather like a pine, which thrives on the seacoast, both from Australia.

Where total rainfall is high, there are great trees and dense forests, often draped with rope-like creepers. One of these (*Entada scandens*) has a pod 3ft. long and 4in. across, and a stem like a ship's cable. It almost makes one believe in the tale of "Jack the Giant Killer." In many forests the important timber tree is teak, but there are many others, such as *sal*. There are also useful trees like the sandalwood, which gives a medicinal oil, and trees which produce nuts for tanning. Approaching the Himalayas we are in the presence of pines and deodars (the latter a kind of cedar), while in Baluchistan there are forests of junipers so ancient that one would like to think they had witnessed the march of Alexander's armies.

No account of Indian vegetation would be complete without some mention of the banyan tree. This is really a kind of wild fig tree. The fruits are of the size of a marble, generally occur in pairs, and are red. They are greatly relished by the big bats or flying foxes. The striking thing about a banyan tree is that its great lower branches grow almost horizontally and to aid in taking their weight these branches drop down roots at intervals along their length. When these roots reach the ground they thicken up and become sturdy pillars. An undisturbed banyan tree may cover half an acre of ground.

Of flowering shrubs, pride of place goes to the well-named *Gloriosa superba*, whose wavy red and yellow petals are like congealed flames. There are many other beautiful flowers, especially in Kashmir. It may not be common knowledge that in peninsular India many of the big trees bear large and striking flowers. There is the well-known Flame-of-the-Forest (called in the vernacular *dhak* or *palas*), whose salmon-pink blossoms are one of the beauties of the early hot-weather landscape. There is the silk-cotton tree with its large trumpet-shaped red and yellow flowers, full of honey which even crows and squirrels covet.

A fair number of trees and shrubs in India have flowers adapted for pollination by birds. Flowers that are bird-attractors usually have brilliant colours and stamens that extend far out in front of the flower. Another curious group are the flowers that depend on carrion flies for their pollination. To suit the low tastes of their clients, these flowers take on the colours and the stench of carrion. Little wayside beautiful flowers are not so common or so conspicuous except in certain favoured areas, but all the same, even in what appear to be barren spots, there are occasional little gems, such as the speedwell-like plant that goes by the poetic name of Vishnukrant or wheel of Vishnu, and the snowdrop-like *Chlorophytum*, both found in poor Deccan lands.

In strong contrast to forests are the deserts. Salty desert in Sind and the Punjab is marked by tamarisk trees and shrubs. Many very dry areas north and south are characterized by the leafless caper bush, a mass of green hard whiplike stems. The camel-thorn covers miles of desert country, and there is also in North-West India the useful *Artemisia*, a low desert shrub that produces the drug santonin.

Among weeds perhaps the most interesting is the sensitive plant, a curiosity in the hothouses of botanical gardens in Europe, but a pest in Coorg. Then there is the widespread *doub* grass, known in America as Bermuda grass, which has to be coaxed to make lawns or cricket pitches, but which needs a heavy tractor and 12in. ploughing to eradicate it in deep black cotton soil. Another pest is the Kans grass, also requiring drastic treatment, and there is a common sedge which is a pest of cultivation with small tubers in an underground network often 6ft. broad and 3ft. deep.

One very dangerous weed is of the same natural order and parasitic nature as the Eyebright found in England. This Indian weed (*Striga*)



Wild flowers in the Alaknanda Valley looking towards Hanuman Chatti

VEGETATION AND SOIL

is also found in Africa and is there known as the Witchweed. It has minute seeds, like grains of ground pepper, and these germinate only in contact with the roots of the plant it is about to parasitize. In India the main sufferers are the great millet (called *jowar*) and to some extent sugarcane. Above ground the weed is a rather innocent-looking little plant with pretty white or creamy flowers.

In India there are many wild relatives of cultivated plants. In swamps one finds wild rice, which has the curious habit of shedding its seeds in the mud around it. Unfortunately this bad character can be transferred by natural hybridization to cultivated rices, and hence wild rice is a nuisance. There is a wild cotton in Sind, and there is in several parts of India a wild sugarcane, which has been used as one of the parents in hybridizing and evolving the new and successful sugarcane varieties, since this wild cane gives stamina and disease resistance. There is the wild mango, the fruit of which tastes of turpentine and is a very different thing from the delicious Alphonso variety; and lastly there is the wild banana, which has large black seeds and not a shred of edible pulp.

But how little can one give any general idea of the flora in an area and in conditions so diverse. Lotus pool and stony river bed, dust storm and flood, teak and tamarisk . . . such is India.

APPENDIX

ELECTION RESULTS

(See page 65)

The following table, showing the results of the Provincial Elections in India, was circulated to Parliament on March 8, 1937. Many of the candidates returned as Independents later associated themselves with various parties—for example, the Congress, and, in the Punjab, the Unionist Party.

NUMBERS OF MEMBERS

PROVINCE	Congress Party	Non-Congress Hindus	Moslem Independent	Moslem United	Moslem League	Other Moslems	Other Parties	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	No Party	Total
Bengal Legislative Assembly ..	54	42	43		40	38		31	2a	250
Bengal Legislative Council (Elected) ..	3	7	13		4			3		30
Bihar Legislative Assembly ..	91	4	16	6		3			32	152
Bihar Legislative Council (Elected) ..		9	1	2				1	1	14
Assam Legislative Assembly ..	32	9	30		4				33	108
Assam Legislative Council (Elected) ..		10	6					2		18
Bombay Legislative Assembly ..	87b	27	12		18		4c	8	19	175
Bombay Legislative Council (Elected) ..	16d	4	3		2			1		26

APPENDIX A
NUMBERS OF MEMBERS—(continued)

PROVINCE	Congress Party	Non-Congress Hindus	Moslem Independent	Moslem United	Moslem League	Other Moslems	Other Parties	Europeans and Anglo-Indians	No Party	Total
Madras Legislative Assembly..	159				9	2	21e	9	15	215
Madras Legislative Council .. (Elected)	26				3		5e	1	11	46
United Provinces Legislative Assembly	134	9	24		26		29f	6		228
United Provinces Legislative Council (Elected).. ..	8	19	14				10g	1		52
Punjab Legislative Assembly ..	18	36g			2	4	88h		27	175
North-West Frontier Province Legislative Assembly ..	19	1	2				7i		21	50
Orissa Legislative Assembly ..	36						24			60
Sind Legislative Assembly ..	8	14	9			7	18j		4	60
Central Provinces Legislative Assembly	71	10			5	8		2	16	112
	762									1771

- (a). Moslem seats party not known.
 (b) Including 1 Nationalist, 1 Communist.
 (c) Labour.
 (d) Including 2 Democratic Swaraj.
 (e) Justice Party.

- (f) National Agricultural.
 (g) Including Sikhs.
 (h) Unionists.
 (i) Hindu-Sikh Nationalists.
 (j) Sind United Party.

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PATIALA

THE GREAT SIKH STATE

PATIALA is the premier State in the Punjab and the largest and most important of the Sikh States. The Ruling Family of Patiala descended from the Lunar dynasty of the epics and traces its ancestry back to Maharaja Gaj, who in the early years of the sixth century founded the town of Ghazni, in Afghanistan. Maharaja Bhatti, fourth in descent from the Maharaja Gaj, is the common ancestor of the dynasties of Karauli, Jaisalmir, Patiala and other Rajput States in different parts of India.

Maharawal Jaisal, one of Bhatti's descendants, founded the State of Jaisalmir, in Rajputana. The dynasty of Patiala belongs to that family, and though Sikh by religion is Rajput by race and in dynastic customs.

The State derives its name from its capital city, founded by Raja Ala Singh, who about the middle of the eighteenth century, as a result of the partition following the capture of Sirhind by the Sikh Confederation,

acquired the fortress and the surrounding country and set himself up as an independent ruler.

The friendly relations which subsist between the House of Patiala and the British Government date from the time of Maharaja Sahib Singh, when the British Government, nervous of the growing power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, negotiated a treaty with the State of Patiala in 1809 and took the territories of the Rulers on the Eastern side of the Sutlej under its protection.

Maharaja Karam Singh, who succeeded Maharaja Sahib Singh, distinguished himself by his wholehearted support of British arms in several expeditions and was rewarded for his services by extension of his territories. Again, in the Mutiny of 1857, the then Maharaja, Narendra Singh, exerted himself to the utmost on the side of the British Government and played an important part in the suppression of the Mutiny.



The pride of the State of Patiala is its high military tradition. During the last century and a quarter that the State has enjoyed the protection of the British Crown, there has never been a war or even a political crisis involving military action in which the Rulers of Patiala have not helped the Empire with all their resources. In 1814, when the Gurkha War broke out, Patiala troops joined the campaign in the Sewalik and cleared the enemy from the area surrounding Simla and thereby acquired the extensive territory it possesses in the Hills. In the critical days of the great Mutiny it was the military strength of Patiala helped to cut off the Punjab from the mutineers and make the relief of Delhi possible. In fact, but for the active help of the Maharaja of Patiala, British power in North India would never have recovered from the loss of the Imperial Capital. The crucial issue in the Mutiny was the attitude of the Punjab. If that province, which had only been recently conquered and whose military strength was yet intact, had joined the rebels the fortunes of the Mutiny would have been wholly different. It was the personal example and the influence of



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE
MAHARAJA OF PATIALA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.,
G.B.E., LL.D., A.D.C.

PATIALA

the Maharaja of Patiala which rendered such a development impossible. Though the Maharaja himself was dissuaded from leading his troops in person in the attack on Delhi, as his presence in the Sikh districts was considered more important, his contingent was prominent in that historic action. For these services in the Mutiny the Maharaja was given the unique dynastic title, "Favoured Son of the British Empire."

Thus it was not by accident that Patiala became the Cradle of Imperial Service Troops," capable of taking their place beside the Regular Forces of the Crown, in the time of Lord Dufferin. These forces have always been at the disposal of the Crown, and they rendered great services to the Empire in all campaigns on the Indian Frontier. During the Great War the services of the Patiala State and its troops were unique. The Patiala contingent fought in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Gallipoli, and the State provided no fewer than 28,000 men, apart from its other contributions for the successful conclusion of the War.

The State has an area of 5,932 square miles and a population of about 1,700,000. The land consists chiefly of an extensive plain which, although not productive everywhere, is on the whole well irrigated and fertile, a great part being irrigated by the Sirhind and Western Jumna Canal distributaries. The State possesses valuable mineral resources and forests which yield abundant quantities of pine, deodar, oak and bamboo.

Agriculture occupies more than 60 per

cent. of the population of the State, and the principal crops are wheat, barley, sugarcane, rape seeds, cotton, tobacco, maize, mustard, ginger and potatoes. Wheat is the chief export.

The State is well served by arterial roads. The Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Peshawar passes through its territory over a considerable distance. One hundred and thirty-eight miles of broad-gauge railway line, comprising two sections — from Rajpura to Bhatinda, and from Sirhind to Rupar—have been constructed by the State at its own cost. The main towns are all connected by telephones and the State maintains its own postal administration.

For administrative purposes, the State of Patiala is divided into five Nizamats (Districts) — namely, Patiala, Barnala, Sunam, Bassi and Narnaul. The Nizam of the district, like the Collector and Deputy Commissioner in British India, is the principal district officer and combines in himself both magisterial and executive powers. According to the Constitution of the State, His Highness the Ruler is the ultimate source of all power and authority, but in practice considerable authority has been delegated in recent years to the Administrative Committee which assists and advises the Maharaja in the work of government. The Administrative Committee consists of the Ministers of His Highness's Government and the Household Officers. It is presided over by the Maharaja, or in his absence by the Prime Minister. Subject to certain reservations and His Highness's revisory authority, the Committee enjoys full and final administrative powers. There is a High Court of Judicature with three Judges, including the Chief Justice.

The present Maharaja, Lieutenant-General His Highness Bhupindra Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., LL.D., A.D.C., received his education at the Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lahore, and has rendered many distinguished services to India and the Empire. His ceaseless

The Great Sikh State

activities throughout the Great War were of the utmost importance to the British Government, at whose disposal His Highness from the outset unreservedly placed the resources of the State. In addition to cash contributions amounting to nearly a crore-and-a-third of rupees and other war material, Patiala contributed over 28,000 recruits, and, above all, the personal inspiration of a Ruler who himself went about rousing his warrior race to hasten to help to maintain the ideals of the British Empire. In the third Afghan War His Highness volunteered his personal services and remained at the front until an armistice was called for by the Amir.

In 1918 the Maharaja was selected as one of India's representatives for the Imperial War Cabinet. His Highness visited the Allied fronts in Europe and in Palestine and received many high honours from the various Governments. In 1925 the Maharaja represented the Indian Princes at the Sixth Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations and in 1926 was elected Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, which position he occupied during the four succeeding years. He was re-elected Chancellor in 1933 and held this office till the beginning of 1936, when he resigned. The Maharaja takes keen interest in the affairs of the Princely Order and enjoys the full esteem of his brother Princes.

Ever since the Maharaja assumed ruling powers he has ceaselessly striven for the moral and material advancement of his people and, under His Highness's effective reign of over 27 years, Patiala has to-day a proud record of progress to show. As a result of his wise administration and guidance the gross revenue of the State has gone up from nearly Rs.78 lakhs, when he received full ruling powers, to over Rs.150 lakhs. With the help of experienced administrators, the executive and judicial and military departments of the State have been

remodelled and brought to a high level of efficiency. His Highness evinces special interest in the advancement of education. Primary education is absolutely free in the State, and the Mohindera College, to which a Science Faculty has been lately added, has come to be acknowledged as a leading institution in the Punjab. During His Highness's beneficent reign schools have increased by 191 and scholars by 11,130, and the expenditure on education by Rs.1,50,000. His Highness's munificent donations to the Punjab University, Benares Hindu University, Khalsa College and other institutions, are well known. The Maharaja is specially alive to the importance of improving the economic life of his rural population. A special Ministry of Agriculture, Industries and Sanitation was created not long ago to coordinate the work of the different development Departments. A State Bank was established as early as 1919 to finance industrial and agricultural development in the State. In the matter of giving to the people the benefits of modern medical science, the Maharaja's Government has also been in the forefront. Besides a well-organized men's and women's hospital in the capital and dispensaries in the more important towns, a clinical research laboratory and an anti-rabic centre have been established in Patiala. In 1934 the Maharaja gave to the hospital a Röntgen Institute and equipped it with up-to-date instruments for X-ray treatment.

It is clear that in the years to come Patiala, under the active and benevolent administration of the present Maharaja, will loom large in the politics of India. As is well known, in all the negotiations connected with the Federation the Maharaja and his State have taken a prominent part. Placed in the strategic centre of India, with a hardy and loyal population, the State is eminently fitted to play an important part in the Federal Government which is soon to be inaugurated.

INDORE

PREMIER STATE IN CENTRAL INDIA

INDORE is the premier State in Central India in direct relationship with the Government of India. The Ruler has the privilege of appointing a *Vakil* at the Court of His Excellency the Viceroy. It is both an industrial and agricultural country with a population of nearly a million and a half, of whom the majority are Hindus. The normal revenue is nearly Rs.1,35,00,000, the seventh largest in the whole of India and the first in Central India.

The arms used by the State consist of a *Khanda* (broadsword) and lance, saltire-wise over a field of poppy and wheat, in which a sacred bull (*Nandi*) couchant and a horse rearing are depicted. A sun in splendour under a *Chatri*, or royal umbrella, forms the crest.

Indore was founded by Malhar Rao Holkar, and in 1818 entered into a treaty with the British Government which still determines their relationship. Ever since



this time the Rulers have shown unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, and have always rendered valuable assistance on occasions of Imperial necessity. For example, although the wave of disaffection that spread over the country in the Mutiny of 1857 did not leave some of the State troops untouched, the Ruler with his adherents stood firmly by the British and gave every possible assistance at Indore, Mhow, and elsewhere. Again, during the Great War, Indore placed all its resources at the disposal of the British Government: its troops took part in the various theatres of war and the contribution of the State towards the War and Relief Funds was Rs.41 lakhs. Its subscriptions to the War Loans amounted to Rs.82 lakhs, while the Indore people contributed over a crore of rupees.

The Ruler enjoys the hereditary title of *Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shree*,



H.H. THE MAHARAJA HOLKAR



H.H. THE MAHARANI HOLKAR

and a salute of 21 guns within his own territories and 19 outside them.

The present Ruler, His Highness Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Sawai Shree Yeshwant Rao Holkar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., was born on September 6, 1908. He received his early education in Indore and his preparatory and public school education in England. He went to Oxford (after his Accession to the Throne in 1926), and remained there until 1929. The whole aim of his education was to develop his powers of judgment, administration, and leadership. His knowledge was further

broadened and deepened by travels in European countries during the vacations, and by a study both of their languages and of the economic and social as well as the political and constitutional conditions of each country.

This training laid firm foundations of character which were to prove an invaluable asset in later years. When he returned to Indore he was fully equipped, both by natural gifts and by training, for taking up his responsibilities of the exalted position which has been allotted to him by birth. In the six months

between His Highness's return to Indore and his assumption of full ruling powers on May 9, 1930, he made a close study of the intricacies of modern administration and took special interest in rural matters, touring the districts of the State in order to obtain an intimate knowledge of the conditions of his people. The tours have brought him, as nothing else could do, into close touch with the agricultural classes who form the backbone of the State, and for their welfare he has laboured unceasingly.

His Highness began his rule by liberal remissions of all arrears of revenue and *tanka* due from cultivators and *Istmuradars*; he also decided to limit his Civil List to 11 per cent. of the income of the State. At this time the world-wide economic crisis had begun to be felt, and in order to cope with the emergency His Highness pursued a policy of vigorous retrenchment, consistent with efficiency, reducing his own personal expenditure as an example.

Adverse economic conditions did not deter His Highness from adopting measures that he considered necessary for the well-being of his subjects, however, and the results of his efforts have already justified the hope that his rule will more than fulfil the expectations of his people.

Due to his keen personal interest in the peasantry, a Tenancy Act was passed early in 1931, to safeguard the interests of the cultivators. His Highness has also introduced administrative reforms, and his great desire to add to the efficiency of the services in the State has found expression in the institution of the Holkar State Civil Service; this has ensured for the service of the State the pick of the rising generation. A compulsory life-insurance scheme has been introduced to enable State officials to make provision for themselves and their families.

A great advance has also been made in the development of self-governing institutions. The village *panchayats* have been given larger powers of initiative and control, and hear civil as well as criminal cases; they represent all castes, including the depressed classes. The

INDORE

panchayats have made cheaper and speedy justice available to people at their very doors.

There are also a number of district municipalities and one city municipality at Indore, and among them these municipalities have a substantial elected element.

Indore, the capital of the State, is the biggest commercial centre in Central India. It has seven spinning and weaving mills and several factories. The market at Indore is a large emporium for trade in wheat and cotton. There are a well-equipped power house and an aerodrome, and an extensive water-supply scheme is in hand. Water will be stored in the Gambliir river, where the Yeshwant Sagar Dam will form a reservoir; the tank, already constructed, is about 10 miles in length and varies in width with a maximum of two miles. The project also provides for main drainage and sewage disposal works, and takes into account the probable growth of the city in years to come. The total expenditure on the combined project is estimated to be about eighty lakhs.

His Highness has very progressive ideas on social reform; he has introduced several reforms of far-reaching effect, such as the prohibition by law of marriage between minors (boys under 18 years and girls under 14). Besides eradicating several evils that are incidental to such marriages, the measure will lead to the improvement of the physique of the people. Other important reforms are the Indore *Nukta* Act, and the Marriage Expenses Controlling Act to limit expenditure on funeral ceremonies and marriages, &c. These are designed particularly to benefit the cultivators and middle classes.

His Highness has also shown deep interest in the advancement of women, in which he is ably assisted by Her Highness the Maharani, who holds most liberal views of all matters affecting feminine welfare.

The uplift of the depressed classes is another question which has attracted the attention of His Highness, and increasing facilities are

being provided in every walk of life for the betterment of their lot. No person is disqualified from holding a post in the State by reason of his being a member of the depressed class, and schools are open to untouchables.

In 1931 His Highness was invited as a delegate to the Second Round Table Conference in London. He presented there a scheme of federation which, he considered, would effectively guard the interests of the States in the proposed All-India Federation. The question of acceding to the Federation as provided in the Government of India Act (1935), the structure of which differs materially from his own scheme, is now receiving His Highness's consideration.

His Highness is the President of the Daly College Council, Indore.

During the short period of His Highness's rule two important retrocessions of territory have been made by the Government of India—the Residency Bazar Area in 1931 and the

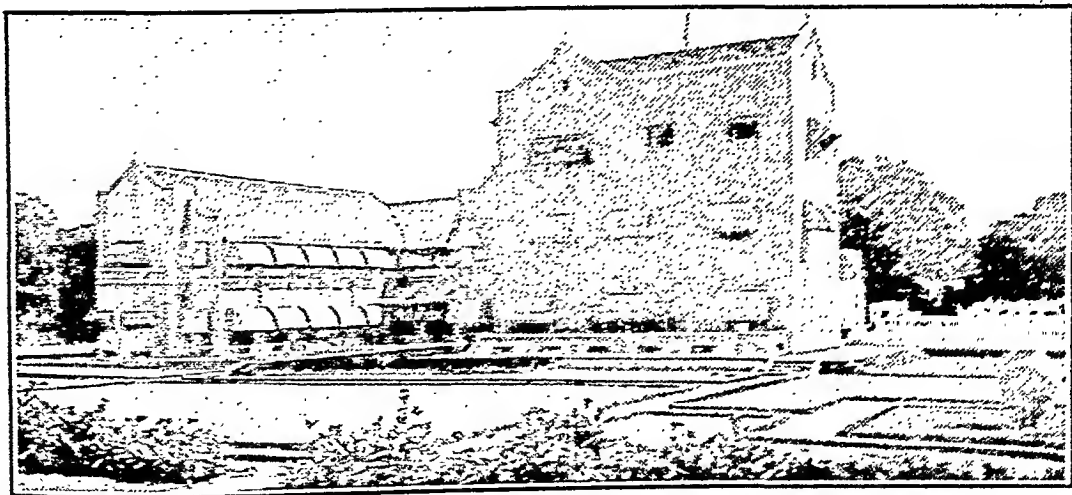
INDORE

Manpurpergana (in lieu of Chandgarh) in 1932. These acts bear strong testimony to the liberal government carried on in the State under His Highness's rule.

The administration of the State is carried on by the Ruler, assisted by the State Cabinet and the Prime Minister and other Ministers. The Prime Minister is the President of the State Cabinet and the Chief Executive Authority. Wazir-ud-Dowlah Rai Bahadur Sir Scray Mal Bapna, Kt., C.I.E., has been the Prime Minister since February, 1926.

There is a Legislative Council, consisting of 30 members (one half being elected and one half nominated), excluding the President and the Vice-President, to make laws for the State.

The State possesses many excellent educational institutions—namely, two first-grade colleges and six high schools. Up-to-date arrangements exist for medical relief in the several hospitals and dispensaries maintained by the State. There is also a sanatorium for tubercular cases.



MANIK BAGH PALACE, INDORE RESIDENCE OF THE PRESENT RULER

BHAVNAGAR



H.H. MAHARAJA RAOL SHRI KRISHNAKUMARSINJI

THE State of Bhavnagar, which lies at the head of the Gulf of Cambay in the Peninsula of Kathiawar, covers 2,961 square miles and has a population of more than half-a-million people of whom 85 per cent. are Hindus. The country varies greatly from salt flats to rich plains, ascending to an almost mountainous terrain in the

Kundla district. The climate is exceedingly pleasant, especially on the southern coast.

The gross annual revenue of the State, taken on an average of the last five years, is Rs.185 lakhs (about £1,500,000 sterling). An annual tribute of Rs.1,28,060 (£10,000) is paid to the British Government, Rs.3,581½ as *Peshkashi* to Baroda and Rs.22,858 as *Zortalbi* to Junagadh.

The importance of the State chiefly rests in its sea ports which have long had a considerable trade with the coast of India and beyond. The port of Bhavnagar is named after the Thakore Saheb, Bhavsinhji the First, who founded it in the early eighteenth century.

There was a close relationship between the Ruler and the British even before the establishment of the

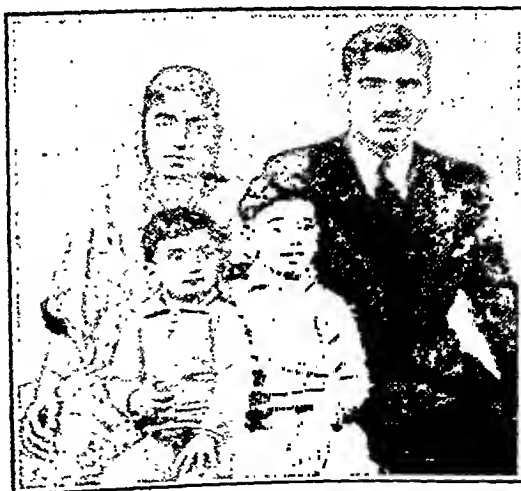
British Raj, a relationship which resulted in the Treaties of 1860 and 1866, whereby Bhavnagar was accorded "the full benefits of a British port" and adopted the British Customs Tariff and Port Dues. In recent years the State has steadily built up a prosperous trade. (As far back as 1884 61 per cent. of the trade of Kathiawar was dealt with by the Bhavnagar ports.) To-day the chief imports are cotton, metals, rice, sugar, cloth and timber; and the chief exports, Indian cotton, oil, metals, ghee, wool and cotton yarn.

The following statistics show the recent trade of Bhavnagar:—

Year	Imports. Rs.	Exports. Rs.
1921	32,104,990	28,694,429
1931	40,728,402	18,782,803
1934	45,439,502	29,027,263

Year	Total Rs.
1921 ..	60,799,420
1931 ..	59,511,215
1934 ..	74,466,765

This commercial progress has been achieved not without difficulty. From 1860 until 1927 trade was hampered, first by underbidding from Kathiawar ports which did not charge the full British duty, later by being mistakenly included in the Land Customs Duty whereby all Bhavnagar trade paid double duties (Bhavnagar was released from this obligation in 1910) and by competition from non-tariff ports against which a Customs barrier was set up in 1927, when Bhavnagar



THEIR HIGHNESSES AND THE CHILDREN

BHAVNAGAR

was allowed to retain her freedom of trade.

The present Ruler, His Highness Maharaja Raol Shri

K.C.I.E., who was head of the Administration during the Ruler's minority (1919-1931). Bhavnagar has a Fine Arts College with about



THE PALACE AND ITS GROUNDS

Krishnakumarsinhji, belongs to the Gohil clan of Rajputs who came into Kathiawar in the 13th century. The President of the State Council is Sir Prabhashanker D. Pattani,

500 students, six high schools (including one for girls) and more than 325 other schools, hospitals and dispensaries. There are 350 miles of State-owned railways,

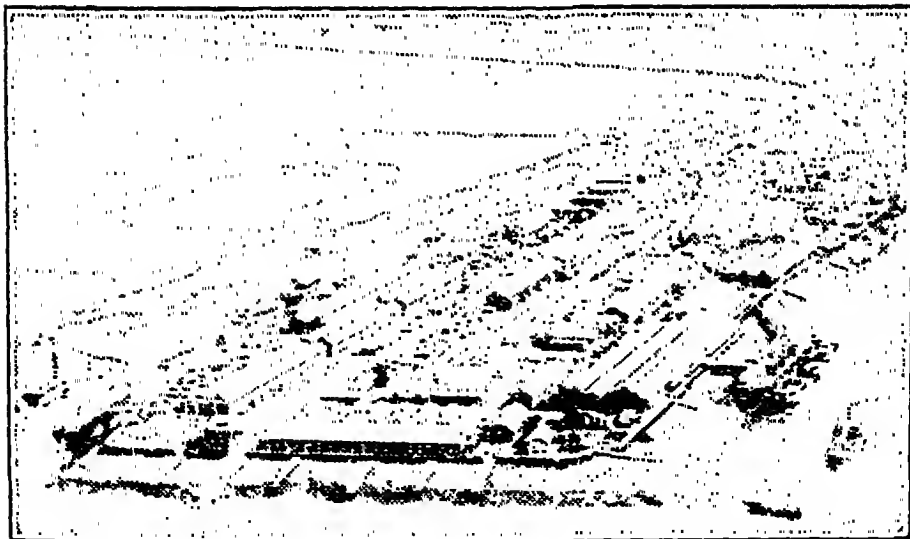
20 printing presses, 62 flour mills, eight soap factories and 13 oil mills.

Thanks to a highly practicable scheme evolved by Sir Prabhashanker D. Pattani the peasants have been freed from debt and agriculture has been placed on a sound footing.

FEDERATION OF INDIA

Bhavnagar welcomed from the

first the idea of an All-Indian Federation, doubtless owing to the informed interest of the Ruler and the President of the State Council. The matter was well summed up by the representative of the Bhavnagar State who likened Federation to a marriage in which the federatory State could not expect to retain all the advantages of bachelorhood.



BHAVNAGAR DOCKS

BARODA



H.H. The Maharajah of Baroda

THE STATE OF BARODA

which has an area of 8,164 square miles and a population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, is situated in one of the most highly urbanised and industrialised areas of India. Under its present ruler, who has been at the head of affairs for more than 55 years, the State has been steadily following an enlightened policy of economic development; it has firmly established a "rule of law" which constitutes the best guarantee for ordered progress.

In the administration of the State, His Highness the Maharajah is assisted by an executive council consisting of the Dewan, or Minister, as president, three Naib Dewans, or Deputy Ministers, and two other officers as members. For the purpose of assisting His Highness in the work of legislation, the State has a legislative council consisting of 30 members, including the Dewan, who is the president with a non-official majority.

The Department of Agriculture has for some years devoted much attention to the improvement of cotton cultivation on the same lines as in the Bombay Presidency, and this policy has resulted in the rapid elimination of inferior varieties. The cooperative movement has extended in Baroda. There are 1,103 societies with a membership of 49,113 and a working capital of Rs.80 lakhs. On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee His Highness the Maharajah established a fund of Rs. one crore (ten millions), the interest on this amount being used in rural uplift work.

The first railway line was constructed over 50 years ago. The State now owns 22 miles of broad-gauge, 330 miles of metre-gauge, and 355 miles of narrow-gauge railways built at a cost of £3,500,000. There are also 200 miles of company-owned railways (the B. B. & C. I. Railway, the Tapti Railway, and others). The proportion of railway mileage to the area is five times and to the population three times the average for the whole of India. Several places in the State are lighted by electricity (power is also supplied to industries), and there are local telephone installations connected with the trunk system of India.

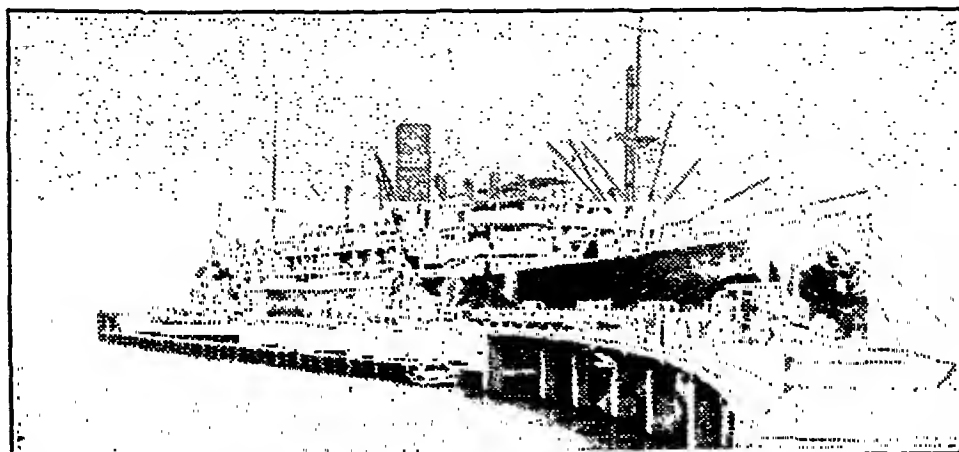
Baroda has developed a port on its Kathiawar coast—Port Okha, in the Gulf of Cutch—which is open throughout the year. The pier is 400ft. in length and has berthing accommodation for two ocean-going steamers. A metre-gauge State railway connects the port with the main system of Kathiawar, and through it with Rajputana and so with Delhi.

For the financing of industries, &c., a State-aided bank, the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., was started nearly 25 years ago. This bank is now a flourishing institution with 15 branches and holds a leading position among the private banks in India.

Cotton, oilseeds, and tobacco are among the more important industrial crops; and the improvement of these and of fruit culture is among the main preoccupations of the agricultural officers employed by the State. It may be added that the cooperative movement has attained a vigorous growth in the State and there is a well-staffed Department of Industries and Commerce which devotes attention to handloom weaving, calico-printing, lacquer work, tanning, and other minor industries. The major industrial establishments and their extent are shown in the accompanying table.

The State has consulting agents in the United Kingdom: Messrs. Rendel, Palmer and Tritton for the railways; Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners for the port, with Messrs. Turnbull, Gibson and Co. as shipping agents; and for the electrical and telephone systems, the Telephone and General Trust, Ltd.

Serial No.	Name of the Industry	Number of industrial establishments	District in which located
1.	Textile (16)	7	Baroda
	(a) Cotton (15) ..	6	Mehsana
		2	Navsari
		1	Baroda
	(b) Woollen (1) ..	1	Baroda
2.	Dyeing and Bleaching Works ..	4	Okhamandal
3.	Cement Works ..	1	Okhamandal
4.	Salt Works ..	1	Baroda
5.	Railway Workshops (2)	1	Mehsana
6.	Pharmaceutical Works ..	1	Baroda
7.	Printing Presses (5)		
	(a) State ..	1	Baroda
	(b) Private ..	4	Baroda
8.	Electrical Installations (12)		
	(a) State (2) ..	1	Baroda
		1	Okhamandal
	(b) Private (10) ..	2	Baroda
		5	Mehsana
		1	Amreli
		2	Navsari
9.	Iron Foundries and Works	2	Baroda
10.	Brick and Tile Works (6)	2	Baroda
		4	Navsari
11.	Match factories (3) ..	2	Baroda
		1	Navsari
12.	Cotton, Ginning and Pressing Factories (119)	60	Baroda
		24	Mehsana
		21	Navsari
		14	Amreli
13.	Oil Mills (4) ..	1	Mehsana
		3	Amreli



ss. "City of Paris" alongside the Pier PORT OKHA

TRAVANCORE

*Her Highness Maharani
Sethu Parvathi Bai,
Mother of His Highness
the Maharajah.*



*His Highness the
Maharajah of
Travancore.*

TRAVANCORE is the most southerly of the Indian States, an irregular triangle with its apex at Cape Comorin, the Land's End of India. It has an area of 7,625 square miles, and its population, according to the census of 1931, is 5,095,973. Although Travancore is comparatively small in area, it ranks immediately after Hyderabad and Mysore in population. About one-half of the state is covered by forests and backwaters, and it has been argued that the congestion of population is a handicap. But the people have a great aptitude for arts and crafts, and are, from the highest to the lowest, very simple in their habits, although the standard of literacy is far higher than in British India.

Travancore is far-famed for the variety and abundance of its natural charms and attractions. Lord Curzon spoke of its "exuberant natural beauties, its old-world simplicity and its Arcadian charm." Lord Irwin (now Lord Halifax) described it as the "spice-garden of India." The high ranges of Travancore with their forests of perennial verdure are a sportsman's paradise. Its palm-fringed lakes and blue lagoons are some of the most beautiful in the world.

The ruling house of Travancore traces its descent, direct and unbroken, from the old Chera Kings of Southern India, referred to as independent in the third century B.C. The state attained its present territorial configuration during the reign of King Martanda Varma (1729 to 1758), who subjugated the neighbouring chieftains and consolidated the state in its present form. He then dedicated all his possessions to Sri Padmanabhaswami, the tutelary deity of his house, and administered the state as *Padmanabha Dasa*, Servant of Padmanabha. The rulers of Travancore have ever since borne this title. It was Martanda

Varma who entered into an alliance with the English East India Company and the friendship with the British Empire then established was cemented during the Mysore War and has continued unshaken to the present day.

Although the ruler of Travancore is legally the source of all authority, yet for more than half a century the Maharajahs have acted as constitutional monarchs, without, however, failing to maintain an effective personal touch in the administration of the state. They have always treated the revenues of the state as public funds and contented themselves with the very modest civil list (less than 5 per cent. of the revenues) which is shown in the annual budget.

His Highness Sri Chitra Thirunal, the present Maharajah, has readily responded to all the legitimate aspirations of his subjects, so that Travancore to-day is looked upon as a model of progress and enlightenment. The latest instance is his Highness's proclamation throwing open the temples to all his Hindu subjects, including those formerly described as the depressed and untouchable classes.

Born in 1912, his Highness succeeded to the *Musnad* on the demise of his grand-uncle in 1924 and was invested with full ruling powers in November, 1931. Travancore instituted a legislative council nearly 50 years ago. His Highness the Maharajah reformed the council four years ago and introduced a bi-cameral Legislature with a very large budgetary control and extensive powers of discussion and interpellation.

Local self-government in Travancore is represented by a number of municipalities and many village *panchayats*, the latter being organized on the basis of adult franchise.

The state enjoys an independent judiciary. A supreme court (which is now the High

Court) was established more than a century ago and its appointments are held by English barristers and by distinguished graduates-in-law of Indian Universities. Travancore is deservedly famous for its high standard of education; 28.9 per cent. of the population are literate (40.8 per cent. of the men and 16.8 per cent. of the women), while this is true of only 15 per cent. of the male and only 3 per cent. of the female population of all India. Nearly 120 periodicals and papers are published within the state in English and Malayalam.

The foundations of the educational policy were laid in 1817 when Rani Gouri Parvati Bayi issued a famous rescript "that the state should defray the entire cost of the education of its people." To-day about a fifth part of the revenues is devoted to education. The state possesses eight colleges affiliated to the Madras University. Not less than 13 per cent. of the population are attending schools and there is a school for every two square miles.

The present Maharajah has appointed a Public Service Commissioner to deal with recruitment to the public service and to equalize opportunities for all communities and classes. The high rate of literacy has, however, brought widespread unemployment among the educated classes. To solve this as well as to exploit the immense natural resources of the state, the Government has embarked upon a programme of industrialization.

Travancore has almost inexhaustible supplies of timber, not only teak, blackwood, ebony, sandalwood and other valuable woods, but soft-wood and reeds suitable for making paper, cardboard and artificial silk. It is also one of the foremost producers of rubber.

The mineral possibilities, too, are great. Apart from the immense deposit of mineral sands such as ilmenite and monazite, the state has in an abundant measure deposits of graphite and of kaolin of exceptionally high quality. There are abundant sources of hydro-electric power. The Pallivasal-Hydro-Electric

Scheme initiated by the present Maharajah will soon be in full operation and is expected to facilitate a number of industrial projects: bleaching, paper, rubber and textile factories and other industries, big and small. The general policy of the state in the matter of industrialization, however, is to guard against the evils of that process evident elsewhere but to extract its benefits by making cheap power available to every cottage. To demonstrate the possibilities of new industries, the state has already started a model rubber factory and will soon establish a kaolin factory.

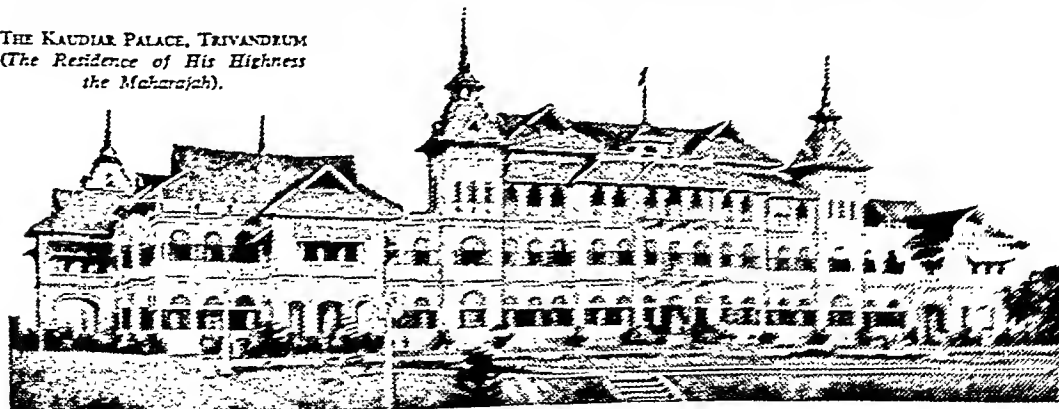
Various cottage industries have been carried on for centuries; cotton weaving and coir making, wood and ivory carving, screw-pine work and carpentry, and more recently lace-making, have attained a world-wide reputation. The fisheries of Travancore are already an item of considerable importance and the export of fish and fish products amounts in value to about 25 lakhs yearly. Poultry farming and bee-keeping in the state have attracted much outside attention. Marthandam, which carries on an intensive programme of rural reconstruction, is a centre of importance to all India.

Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, is the terminus of the South Indian Railway. The whole state is covered by a network of roads and canals with a well-regulated system of motor services and steam launches. There exists also a weekly air mail service between Bombay and Trivandrum.

The tradition of religious toleration is one of the glories of Travancore. Muslims and Christians have found uninterrupted hospitality during many centuries.

The idea of federation between the Indian States and British Indian Provinces is welcomed in Travancore, a state great in historic tradition, treated most generously by Nature, ably assisted by a ruling dynasty which has always acted on the principle that a ruler is only the trustee of his people, a state where the people enjoy all the best in modern progress.

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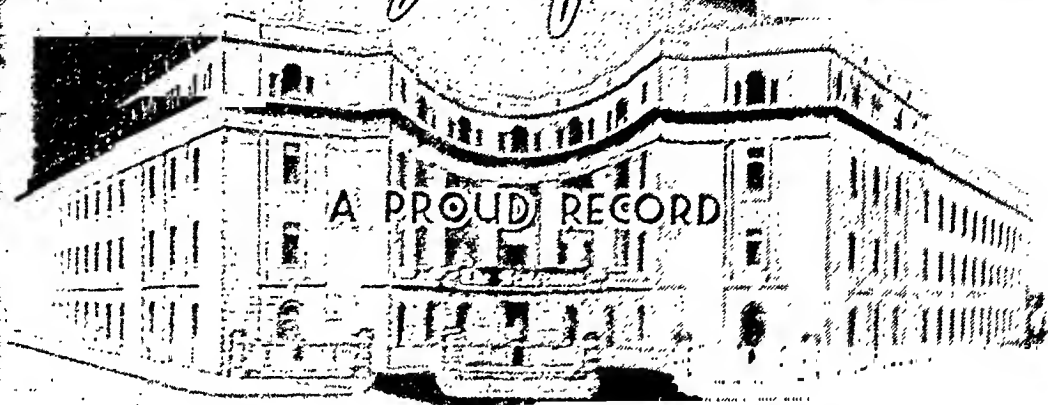
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